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WESTMINSTER ABBEY

"I, John Froissart, priest and chaplain...treasurer and canon of Chimay and Lille in Flanders, set myself to work at my forge to produce new and notable matter relative to the wars between France and England...which excellent materials, through the grace of God, I shall work upon as long as I live: for the more I labour at it the more it delights me."

INSTALLATION OF THE KNIGHTS OF THE BATH IN 1812, IN HENRY VII'S CHAPEL.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY

ITS ARCHITECTURE, HISTORY AND MONUMENTS

By HELEN MARSHALL PRATT
Author of "The Cathedral Churches of England"

ILLUSTRATED

VOL. II.

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1914

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TO THE MEMORY OF THE BRAVE AND THE FAITHFUL, THE STRONG, THE STEADFAST AND THE TRUE, FROM PALACES OR FROM HALLS OF STATE, FROM CHURCH OR CLOISTER OR FAIR ENGLISH HOME, WHO AT LAST, "THIS PAINFUL LIFE ENDED," HAVE FOUND PEACEFUL SHELTER WITHIN THE WALLS OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY, I DEDICATE THIS BOOK.

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WESTMINSTER ABBEY

WESTMINSTER ABBEY

VOL. II

CHAPTER XVII

THE TOMB OF HENRY VII AND HIS QUEEN

"He lieth buried at Westminster in one of the stateliest and daintiest monuments of Europe: both for the chapel and for the sepulchre. So that he dwelleth more richly dead, in the monument of his tomb than he did alive in Richmond or any of his palaces." —LORD BACON'S "Life of Henry VII."

Henry VII, the first Tudor sovereign, was the last English king to be royally entombed. His son and successor, Henry VIII, began to build a magnificent tomb for himself and Queen Jane Seymour, but it was never completed, and the two rest in a plain vault without memorial in St. George's chapel, Windsor. The grave of Edward VI is beneath the altar in this chapel of his grandfather, Henry VII: but his sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, two queens, sleep under a marble canopied tomb in the north aisle. James I, who provided beautiful monuments in this chapel for his mother, his grandmother and his two infant daughters, found but a narrow, crowded resting place in the vault of Henry VII, unmarked above the

pavement, and, until Dean Stanley's time, for many decades unidentified. Charles I, buried at Windsor in the vault with Henry VIII, is without a memorial of any sort. Charles II, William and Mary, Queen Anne, George II and his family found their graves in this chapel, but with no monument or even inscription until Dean Stanley caused their names to be incised on the stones of the pavement. The fashion of rich royal monuments in England seems to have ceased with the Tudors, while nobles, gentry, and a host of unremarkable names are preserved to us by the large, persistent and sometimes beautiful memorials erected within the Abbey.

Henry VII died at his beautiful palace of Richmond, which he had rebuilt and re-named with his own name, April 21, 1509, at the age of fifty-four. His queen had been six years in her tomb in his new chapel. Careful reading of the various histories of the time shows conclusively that the two were tenderly attached to each other and that while the King did not yield the management of his affairs to wife or mother, yet he sincerely loved and relied on his queen, and her death left him in great loneliness and distress. Negotiations for a second marriage had been in progress with various ladies, but the king was difficult to please: no one

had been found to satisfy the husband of the noble Elizabeth, and Henry VII died a widower.

After the Queen's death it is said that the baser passions of avarice and injustice gained sway with him. Naturally cautious and prudent, his many years of deprivation and exile may have emphasized this tendency. Constant companionship with a nature so generous, so unselfish, so sweet and loveable as that of his queen, may have held these unbeautiful qualities of the king in abeyance: and, in any case, they seem to have been somewhat exaggerated by historians.

As his health failed the king began to think with much anxiety about the future, and twelve days before he died wrote his interesting Will. Numerous distributions of alms were made in his name: before the day of his death £2000 was offered "for the wealth of his soule" and "among the lame, blind and most nedye folk" in London and its suburbs and to miserable prisoners for debt, up to a certain limit: and all, says the Will, "to the entent thei doo praie to Almighty God for the remission of our synnes and salvacion of our Soule." In an agony of mind he beseeches his Executors to consider him in his hour of need and "how necessarie,

behooful and how profitable it is to dede folks to be praied for," and that they carefully instruct the recipients of his bounty that they pray for him devoutly and "by name." He provides for any whom he may have wronged and that all complaints "be spedily, tenderly and effectionately herde" by the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishops of Winchester, London and Rochester. Hospitals are to be founded by his bequests: highways repaired: "new Brigges" built: various cathedrals and religious houses are to be remembered, all of which are to pray for his soul.

While the directions in the Will for his tomb and chapel are very minute, he devotes little space to the details of his funeral obsequies, leaving much to the discretion of his executors: yet he stipulates that the funeral shall "have respect . . . somewhat to our dignitie Roial, but avoiding alwaie dampnable pompe and oteragious superfluities." The masses, however, are almost infinite in number, all the money in his coffers and all his jewelry and valuables being devoted to this purpose.

His body, in the magnificent royal robes and the crown which was so precious in his sight, was placed in a rich black velvet

coffin having a great cross of white satin marked from end to end, similar to that of his queen, save that her cross was of white damask. After lying in state at Richmond, there was a long and richly set off funeral procession through the City of London to St. Paul's, the body borne by Templars and attended by the nobility. Nine hundred henchmen followed the funeral chariot: six hundred others carried torches. Matthew of Westminster asserts that miracles were wrought by the body.

After the lying in state at St. Paul's, the body was borne to Westminster Abbey, and an effigy (still to be seen) dressed in royal robes, was placed in a rich hearse glittering with candles. When the body was brought into the new chapel, the Garter King of Arms proclaimed "for the soul of the noble prince, Henry VII, king of this realm," and the choir sang *"Placebo et Dirige."* The coffin was not left above ground, as had usually been the custom at burials, but was let down a short distance into a small vault beneath the pavement where the Queen's body already rested, Archbishop Warham and various bishops and abbots touching it with their croziers as they pronounced *"Absolvimus,"* the Archbishop casting in the earth.

The heralds then removed their rich tabards, hung them on the rails of the hearse, crying out in French, "The noble King Henry VII is dead," and at once putting them on again, cried, "Long live the noble King Henry VIII." The hearse long remained standing by the vault and on the anniversary of the King's death services were held here and altar and hearse lighted with a hundred wax tapers. All the arrangements for the funeral ceremonies, as well as those for the succeeding coronation, were carefully made, according to a contemporary writer by the young widow of Prince Arthur, Catherine of Aragon, then only twenty-four years of age, whose marriage to Henry VIII occurred shortly after.

The builder of the tomb was Pietro Torregiano, a fellow student of Michael Angelo at the chapel of Masaccio in the church of the Carmelites, and of Benvenuto Cellini. The latter describes him as of splendid person and arrogant spirit. The well-known story of Torregiano's quarrel with Michael Angelo, on account of a sarcastic remark which the latter had made concerning Torregiano's drawing, came near resulting fatally to the great sculptor, but the disfigurement which fol-

lowed seems to have been merited.* Torregiano, then a fiery youth of twenty, was forced to leave Florence, went to Rome: was employed at the Vatican: enlisted as a soldier and after a few years in 1503 returned to Florence. Later, in company with some Florentine merchants, he came to England.† In England his talents were soon recognized and he was engaged to make three notable tombs, viz.: those of Henry VII: of his mother, the Lady Margaret; and of John Young, coadjutor of the Bishop of London and Master of the Rolls.‡

*Grimm's Life of Michael Angelo, 1: 225.

†At some time previous to his going to England he had been in Spain and there made an unsuccessful trial for the monument of Ferdinand and Isabella (Wyatt's Metal Work, p. 70), and a portion of his trial piece, a beautiful figure of Charity wrought in white marble, may still be seen on the door of the Sala Capitula of the cathedral at Granada.

‡After the completion of his work in England, Torregiano went to Spain, it is said, where he wrought a terra cotta Madonna and Child for the Geronimite church at Seville, still to be found in plaster copies, at the shops of Seville: the hands are of especial beauty and are sometimes copied by themselves, "La mans a la tete." He also wrought a terra cotta statue of St. Jerome, now in the museum at Seville, casts of which may be seen at the Louvre and at the Crystal Palace. He is described as a fierce-looking, handsome man, "with the air of a bravo rather than a sculptor," a resonant voice, vehement gestures and a habit of knitting his brows enough to frighten any man of courage." (Cellini.) When Torregiano returned to England

The King's tomb has an interesting history. It was not the first tomb prepared for Henry VII, who had originally intended to be buried in St. George's chapel, Windsor, and had actually begun there a tomb for himself and his queen as early as 1501, in which year, under date of July 23, ten pounds were paid for the same to Master Esterfelde and another similar payment in March of the year following.* But in 1503, in January, the month in which the cornerstone of his new chapel was laid, there is a record that ten pounds was paid "for the conveying of the king's tomb from Windsor to Westminster," this indicating an entire change of plan. Henry VI was buried at Windsor, as we

to complete the King's work, in 1519, he brought with him Antonio di Piergiovanni di Lorenzo, a sculptor, Antonio, called Toto del Munziata, a painter, Giovanni Luigi di Bernardino di Maestro and Jacopo da Verona.

The story told of his last days, often discredited but not disproved, is that having modelled a beautiful statue of the Virgin for the Duke of Arcos he received in payment a few brass coins, so inadequate to the actual value of the work that he shattered the statue to fragments. The Duke denounced him to the Inquisition for heresy: he was imprisoned in a dungeon and out of sheer temper is said to have starved himself to death.

*The Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VII, printed in Bentley's *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 123, 125 and 127, where there is a record of at least £68 (equal to about £700 in present day value) paid to this same Esterfelde.

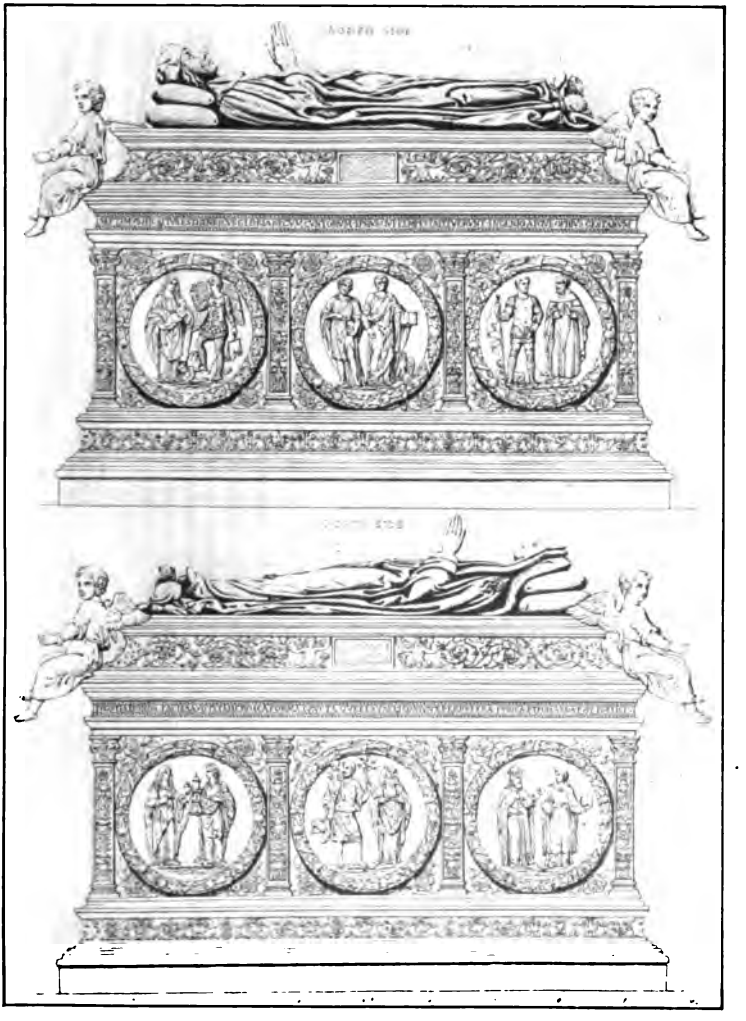
know: but the King had announced his intention of removing the body to Westminster: and doubtless for this reason, because he desired to rest near his saintly step-uncle the transfer of the incomplete tomb was made. The large sum paid for the transportation would indicate that a considerable portion of the tomb had been completed and perhaps the beautiful metal screen now enclosing the tomb was a portion of the work then finished, since the King's Will refers to "the grate in the manner of a closure already begun by us," though no part of the tomb itself had been begun.*

At the death of Henry VII, the tomb, as it now appears, could not have been much more than begun, since the Will contains directions for making and for plac-

*The Windsor tomb was designed by an Italian sculptor, Master Pageny, and separate estimates were furnished by the carver, the founder, coppersmith and gilder, painters, masons and marble merchants (to be seen in the Record Office). There were to be effigies of the King and Queen: twelve small images on the sides and four of the King's lords kneeling on top resembling, in this particular, the tomb of Charles VIII of France, in the choir of St Denis, which was wrought by Mazzoni of Naples, famous for his kneeling terra cotta figures, and was of black marble with figures of bronze gilt. Instead of saints at the sides there were figures representing the Virtues. As the king had been an exile in France and had visited the French Court, after the death of Charles VIII, no doubt he had seen his tomb.

ing it: but that for his mother, the Lady Margaret, of which the King's tomb has been called "a glorified version," was evidently completed first and in the King's lifetime. Negotiations between Henry's executors, Henry VIII, and Torregiano, seem to have extended over a considerable period. More than one design and estimate of expenses was prepared and rejected because "misliked" by the young king.

The contract for the tomb was finally made and signed October 12, 1513, three years after the death of Henry VII, and the work must have been finished by January 5, 1519, when Torregiano signed another contract for the tomb of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, in which reference is made to the tomb "which the same Peter before made and finished for Henry VII": and probably before 1517, when the contract for the altar was made with Torregiano. Laurence Yumber, who had made an unsuccessful design for the tomb, seems to have been employed to work with Torregiano, who agreed to perform his task "well, surely, cleanly, workmanly, curiously and substantially," and for the sum of £1000, a reduction of £500 from his first demand. The tomb for the Lady Margaret and that for



TOMB OF HENRY VII AND HIS QUEEN

From Neale's engraving in 1818.

Bishop Young (who had been present when the cornerstone of this chapel was laid) were probably completed before this.

No doubt much of the elaborate and beautiful detail of the tomb and especially the effigies and figures, were wrought by Torregiano's own hand.

The Tomb is a very rich, elaborate, darkly elegant Renaissance table tomb of black and white marble, decorated lavishly with ornaments of gilt bronze, the sides being ornamented with metal wreaths which enclose groups of bronze figures. The bronze effigies of the King and Queen recline on the rich marble table, the main structure being eight feet ten and one-half inches long: four feet eleven inches high: four feet ten and one-half inches broad. A Thuringian traveller who saw it in 1574 while it was still fresh and new, compared it with the monuments to the kings of France at St. Denis: "All the whole tomb is gilten over and shineth faire, being round beset with precious stones . . . it hath in it also many turned and carved pillars, and very lyke unto this are the monuments of the kings of France in St. Denis church."

Though distinctly mediæval in its general form the tomb has been skillfully

Italianized by the addition of a bold cavetto moulding of white marble, increasing the space for effigies and ornaments and imparting a spacious aspect. The cavetto is delicately wrought with birds and arabesques. "No finer work of the date can be seen in Italy, so far as I am aware."*

The effigies of the King and Queen, portraits, no doubt, rest on this wide marble table. They are modelled in bronze with consummate freedom and skill, with noble dignity and repose. The features are full of character and evidently the figures were modelled by an artist's skillful hand. They are full of life, not death: the draperies are most carefully disposed. No rich royal robes are here displayed. The King wears a long, flowing mantle over his inner robe and a plain, low cap with ear-lappets. The Queen's figure is also plainly robed in long, flowing draperies with an ample hood. Both figures were once crowned and are so represented by Sandford and by Wall. The hands of each are devoutly upraised in prayer and are well nigh perfect in their modelling. Their feet rest on lions. "The greatest sculptures ever wrought in

*Higgins.

England."* The figure of Henry VII is said to have been the original of Holbein's famous portrait.

At each angle of the table appears a beautiful marble cherub, cheerfully if somewhat insecurely seated on the very

ANGEL ONCE BEARING THE BANNER OF CADWALLADER ON HENRY VII'S TOMB

outermost edge of the slab, the four placed as delicately as if they were so many birds who had just alighted and would wing away at a moment's warning. Each pair of chubby feet projects far out beyond the ledge, and each pair of cherubs supports between them a large shield of the royal arms within a closed fetterlock, with mottoes. Each little outstretched hand once bore an emblem, as shown in

*Lethaby.

early representations of the tomb, but long since torn away: among them were a crown, a banner bearing the red dragon of Cadwallader, and the sword and scales of justice.

The Sides of the Tomb. The King's Will directed that "on the sides of our said Tombe . . . we wol tabernacles be graven and the same filled with Images, specially of our said avouries (patron saints), of coper and gilt." The fashion of Gothic tabernacle work, however, was fast yielding to the Renaissance manner and the saints were placed in bronze gilt medallions enclosed by black marble wreaths: but the makers of the metal screen around the tomb, supposed to have been English, preserved the Gothic style to a considerable extent, and here "in tabernacles" they placed the King's patron saints as he had desired.

The images in the medallions are chiefly in groups of two, all carved in high relief, beautifully wrought, doubtless by the hand of Michael Angelo's fiery fellow pupil, and represent some of the best work of the style and period. The figures are about eighteen inches high. "Their attitudes are easy and graceful: the drapery is finely disposed: the countenances are expressive and the minute finishing is spirited

and free." In the spandrils outside the wreaths are beautiful rose sprays of bronze gilt, each spray containing an open rose. On the South Side of the tomb, beginning at the West end, the subjects are:

1. The Virgin and Child, and the Archangel Michael. The Virgin, in graceful draperies: the Child, its tiny hand in benediction, looks up with pleased expression to the archangel, who, in rich armour, stands with scales bearing the emblems of good and evil. A dreadful dragon at the archangel's feet tries with his mouth to bring down the scale of evil. 2. St. John the Baptist, bearing an open book on which rests the lamb, his emblem to which he is pointing as if saying, "Behold the Lamb of God!" He is represented with a youthful, bearded face: the position of the hands is most effective and peculiarly Italian: he appears to be speaking to a second figure, representing St. John the Evangelist, who also bears an open book, and his emblem, the eagle, with outspread wings, is at his feet. 3. St. George, the patron saint of England, trampling on a dragon. He bears in his hands a large and beautiful standard and appears to be talking with the second figure of this group, St. Anthony of Padua, dressed as an abbot, his hands clasped in

prayer and bearing a rosary. His emblem, the pig, is at his feet.

Gilded bronze pilasters separate the compartments and are carved with beautiful foliage, roses, the portcullis and other Tudor emblems.

On the North side of the tomb, beginning at the West, the figures are: 1. St. Edward the Confessor, crowned, bearded, giving a ring to St. John the Evangelist, who points to the open book of his gospel which he holds. 2. St. Christopher, bearing on his shoulder the Christ Child: the tree-staff, which once burst forth miraculously into leaves, is in his hand. The saint regards the tiny figure of the Child with deep affection. St. Anne, veiled, reading from a book, is the second figure in this medallion. 3. St. Mary Magdalen, with long, curling hair, bearing a box of ointment: she appears in conversation with St. Barbara, who carries her emblem, the tower.

The Altar of the Tomb was undoubtedly the most important feature of his monument in the eyes of the remorseful mediæval king. Here countless masses were to be said, and on these he relied for relief from those purgatorial sufferings to which he believed himself destined. For this purpose, he directed that two altars,

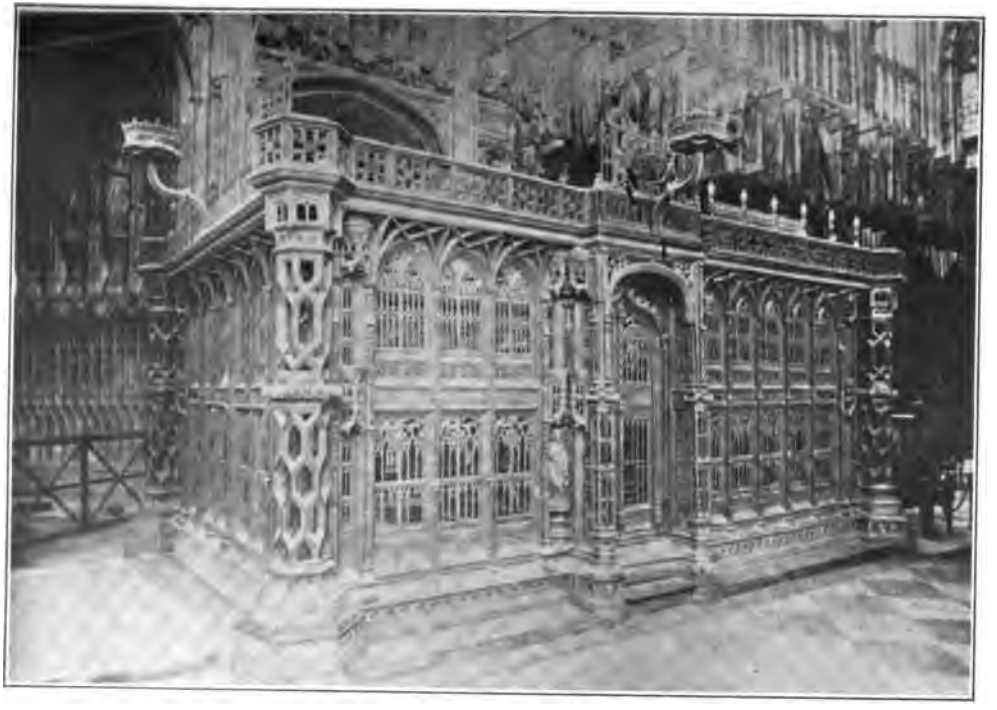
not one, should be erected, one within the grille, at the east, with a roodloft above on which were to stand "an image of the Crucifixion with Mary and John in the manner accustomed." To this altar he bequeathed "our grete piece of the holie cross . . . brought and delivered to us from the Isle of Cyo in Greece, set in gold and garnished with perles and precious stones," undoubtedly the most highly valued relic that he possessed. To this altar also he gave further relics, one of the legs of St. George "to be used at feasts." He also gave for this precious altar images of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of St. John the Evangelist, St. John the Baptist, St. Edward, St. Jerome and St. Francis, with rich candlesticks. And he directed that four wax tapers were to be set in the sconces to be formed of Tudor roses at the top of the grille and these, with one hundred other tapers about the tomb and the altar, were to be burned perpetually day and night, "to chase the spirits that love the night."

A second altar with canopy was to be built outside and west of the tomb (where it now stands), but this was evidently an afterthought since the agreement for its construction is dated four years later than the royal contract with Torregiano. To

furnish endowment for the priests and for the rich plate and vestments of the two altars, the King left large estates and the most careful written directions and indentures strengthened by his hand and seal so that no doubt or disarrangement of his preparations would be possible.

The beautiful Metal Screen of open tracery and carved statues and ornaments surrounding the tomb and still faithfully protecting as well as concealing many of its beauties from the general view, was also provided for in the Will, where it is named as "a grate in manner of closure, of coper and gilte." Like all else connected with tomb and chapel, it is richly and carefully wrought, was probably the work of that English craftsman who was employed on the bronze Gates at the west of the chapel, and is worthy of careful attention.

It rests on a stone plinth, is about nineteen feet long, eleven feet wide and ten feet high, and has a small door on the north and one on the south side for the use of priests ministering at the altar within. Over each door appear the Royal Arms with supporters and in front of each is a lamp standard in the form of a Tudor rose. So numerous are the roses that the tomb might well be called The Rose Tomb.



METAL SCREEN OF HENRY VII'S TOMB

The Screen is built of open tracery in two stages having an open cornice and the remains of beautiful cresting. It was once adorned with thirty-two statuettes of gilt bronze, all but six of which have disappeared. Noticeable are the airy, graceful effect produced by the artistic use of so much solid but pierced metal: the trac-

ROSE SPRAYS AND CROWN

ery of beautiful designs, in both stages, enriched with the Tudor emblems: the large, pierced buttresses at the angles: the delicate patterns and devices in the cornice, including the portcullis and the rose, and the fragments of the lovely cresting on the north side near the door and at the west end.

On the North Side, notice the pillar in the middle of the folding doors: the upper part being twisted, with a foliage capital and the lower part having an unusual design of overlapping leaves. At the top,

a tiny, beautiful angel bears a shield. Note also the familiar designs, including the dragon of Carwallader and the greyhound of the Nevilles, the roses in the tracery of the door: the lock-plate incised with a rose spray: the inscription "a model in its way for ribbon-like letters," and small roses between the words: the beautiful open traceried pillars on each side of the door: and a figure of St. Basil on the east side of the door, or possibly St. Jerome, wearing a round cap, and a mantle held by two loops: the hands are missing: and the crocketted canopies and the pedestals of the niches.

On the South Side, which is much like the north, notice, at the east end, two figures in tabernacles, viz., St. Bartholomew, with long beard, curling hair, cheerfully bearing his own skin over his shoulder: and Edward the Confessor, crowned, his mantle confined by a cord and tassels, one hand remaining showing the delicate long fingers and prominent veins ascribed to him by contemporary writers and strongly suggesting Torregiano's work. At the West end of the South Side are two more saints in tabernacles: St. John the Evangelist, a beautiful figure, familiar through illustration, bearing in one hand a large chalice from which a fiend was once repre-

sented as escaping (the figure now missing), and the other hand either in benediction or in surprise at the miracle: and St. George in armour with a large shield, trampling the dragon under foot. At the East end of the screen, in the north angle, in the upper niche, is the figure of St. James in pilgrim's garb.

Notice here, as of much interest, the beam of the old Rood which was destroyed by the Puritans in 1643. When the chapel was built, the high altar retained its original dedication to the Virgin Mary: but the chantry chapel of this tomb was dedicated to St. Saviour.*

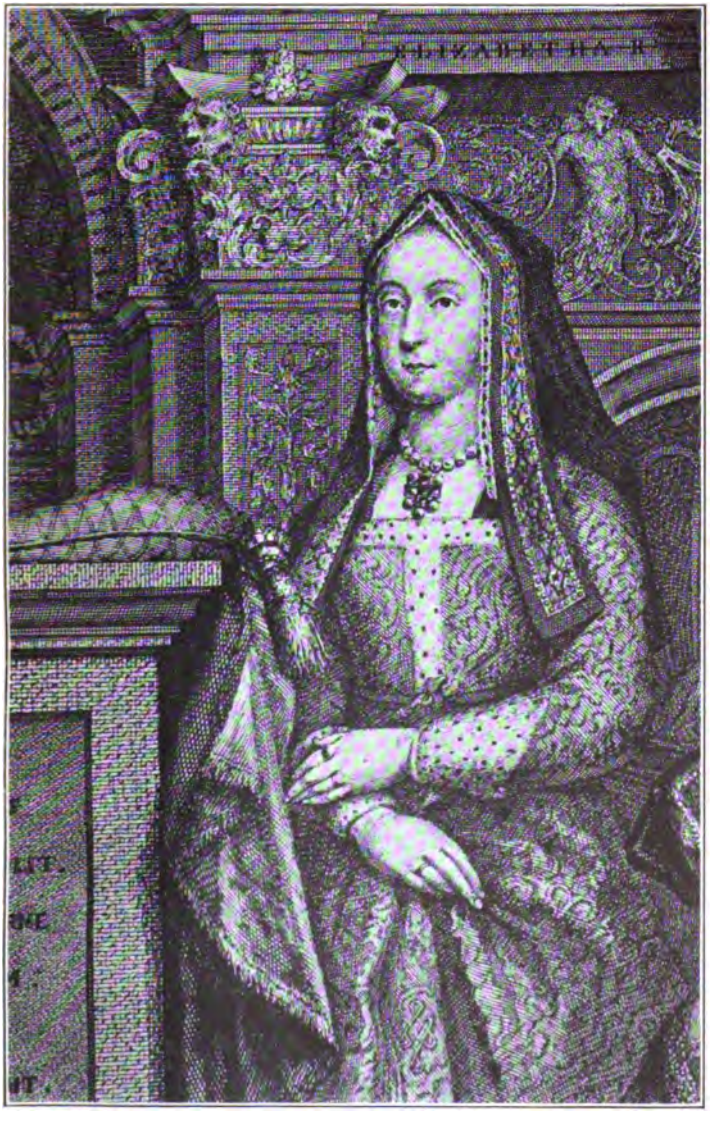
Elizabeth of York, queen of Henry VII (d. Feb. 11, 1503, aet. 37), was buried in a side chapel of the Abbey, three weeks after the cornerstone of this chapel had

*One singular provision of the Will concerning the King's tomb was entirely disregarded. He directed that a great image of himself, "in manner of an armed man," with sword and spurs, to be wrought of wood and plated with fine gold, should be placed kneeling at a table of silver and gilt, "holding between his hands the Crowne which it pleased God to give us." This great image was to be placed, not on his own tomb, but in the chapel of Edward the Confessor, "in the myddst of the Creste of the Shrine," and was to bear his name, *Rex Henricus Septimus,* in large letters of black enamel. A similar image was to be erected before the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham and another, "as nighe to the shrine of Thomas of Canterbury as may be," bearing the King's name and the sentence, *"Sancte Thomae Intercede pro me."*

been laid, and later her body removed to the vault of the king's tomb.

The romantic story of this young queen who died soon after giving birth to a little daughter, has often been written and might well be amplified. She was the daughter of the Yorkist King, Edward IV: the sister of Edward V, murdered in the Tower; the niece of Richard III: the wife of Henry VII and the mother of Henry VIII and Prince Arthur and of Margaret, Queen of James IV of Scotland, hence the grandmother of Mary Queen of Scots and great-grandmother of James, the first Stuart King and founder of the Stuart dynasty.

She was truly a child of Westminster, for she was born in its palace, baptised in the Abbey, "having three Duchesses and an Earl for god-parents." In Westminster Abbey the Lady Bessy married the King, and here was she buried. The King her father is said to have had a presentiment that she would be the representative of his line, though sons were born to him later, and one, Edward V, bore the name of King for a few short months: and so it proved, since her young brothers, who would have succeeded to the throne, Edward V and Richard, Duke of York, were murdered in the Tower



ELIZABETH OF YORK, QUEEN OF HENRY VII

From Vertue's engraving.

and no son of Edward IV ever sat on the English throne.

She had a troubled and care-burdened girlhood, for when but a child of five, her father having been forced to flee from the country, her mother sought refuge in the Sanctuary at Westminster Abbey, the family being in great poverty and in danger of their lives. The child learned wisdom and forethought beyond her years in thus sharing her mother's sorrows, and all the chroniclers of her history mention the devotion of the young princess and her great kindness and care for her young brothers and sisters. Her spirits were naturally gay and it was said that she played as happily in the Abbot's gardens at Westminster as she did in the flowery meadows of the palace of Sheen. Her grief for the murder of her brothers, the little princes of the Tower, was overwhelming, and their memory dear to her so long as she lived, as certain records in her expense accounts testify.

Later, when her marriage to the King placed her on the English throne, her care for the orphaned sisters was ceaseless. Often lacking sufficient private means for her own dignity, and constantly forced to petty economies, her accounts show how kindly she provided for her

younger sisters and her less fortunate friends. Elizabeth the Good, she was called. She was a lover of music and a skillful player on the clavichord.

In her great joy for the birth of her eldest son, Prince Arthur, she founded a beautiful chapel at Winchester cathedral, which still stands as a witness, by its beauty, to her generosity and thankful heart. She was a wise friend to her husband, and tenderly comforted him on the death of their eldest son, Prince Arthur, in whom so much hope was centred. The story is delicately and quaintly told by the chroniclers, and happily disproves the rumors carelessly set afloat that the King and Queen were unhappy in their married life:*

*"They were at Greenwich palace when the news arrived of their heavy loss. The King's confessor was deputed by the Privy Council to break the sad news to him. Somewhat before his usual time, the confessor knocked at the King's chamber door, and when admitted requested all present to quit the room, and approached, saying in Latin: 'If we receive good from the hand of God shall we not patiently sustain the ill he sends us?' He then showed his Grace that his dearest son was departed to God. When the King understood these sorrowful heavy tidings he sent for the Queen, saying that he and his wife would take their painful sorrow together. After she was come and saw the King, her lord, in that natural and painful sorrow, as I have heard say, she with full great and constant and comfortable words besought him that he would, after God, consider the weal of his own noble person, of his realm and of her. "And," added the

Tomb of Henry VII and His Queen

Mourning for the Queen was almost universal, for she was greatly endeared to the hearts of the people. She had died suddenly, on her thirty-seventh birthday, three days after the birth, at the Tower, of her little daughter, the Princess Katherine, who soon followed her mother. The unfavourable symptoms appeared unexpectedly in the absence of her physician, Dr. Hallysworth, who came in the slow speed of those mediæval days, "with guides and torches." The Herald's Journal records the deep grief of the King, whose affection was certainly sincere, and how with a few servants he went apart "to a solitary place to pour out his sorrow and would that no man should resort unto him." The solemn sound of

Queen, "remember that my lady, your mother, had never no more children but you only: yet God, by his grace, has ever preserved you, and brought you where you now are. Over and above, God has left you yet a fair prince and two fair princesses and God is still where he was and we are both young enough. As your Grace's wisdom is renowned all over Christendom, you must now give proof of it by the manner of taking this misfortune." Then the King thanked her for her good comfort.

"But when the queen returned to her own chamber, the natural remembrance of her great loss smote so sorrowfully on her maternal heart that her people were forced to send for the King to comfort her. Then his Grace in great haste and with true gentle and faithful love soothed her trouble, telling her what wise counsel she had given him before, and that if she would thank God for her dead son, he would do likewise."—Leland's *Collectanea.*

tolling bells from the cathedral and all the other churches of London filled the air, as the sweet form of the queen* was borne to that solemn Norman chapel of St. John in the White Tower which all visitors to London today know so well: and there her maids of honour and other ladies, with officers of state, stood silently on guard around the hearse, which glittered with candles. No tender service that the heart of the lonely King could suggest was omitted, and the almost equally bereaved sister, Lady Katherine Courtenay, stood at the head of the hearse until solemn mass had been celebrated for the queen's soul. All through

*The Queen was of lovely appearance, having a tall stately figure, long golden hair, brilliantly fair complexion, regular features, serene eyes and a peculiarly sweet expression. She was the mother of seven children, and Erasmus, who visited them at Eltham, where they were being educated, writes a pretty description of the little group who received him. The pictures of three of these children at Hampton Court show large, earnest eyes and serious expressions. One daughter became queen of Scotland, one a queen of France and the second son was Henry VIII.

Elizabeth's letters to her husband contain much that reveals her character. One written in Latin, addressed to him before their marriage and after his victory at Bosworth Field, is preserved in the history of the king written by Bernard Andreas, his blind Poet Laureate. Later, in 1492, when the king was invading France, she wrote him such loving letters, so deeply lamenting his absence, that, according to one historian, Henry brought about peace and returned home.

the long night following, a *Pater Noster* was said for the queen every hour, and *Kyrie Eleison* and *Oremus* before the collect.

The funeral procession to the Abbey took place on the twelfth day after the Queen's death. Before every house that it was to pass some one was appointed to stand bearing a lighted torch: thousands of torches illumined the way. A rich and beautiful effigy of the Queen in her royal robes and crown, bearing a sceptre, the hands glittering with gems, her long yellow hair streaming from her shoulders, was placed in a carriage draped with black velvet and drawn by six horses in black velvet trappings. "At each corner of the car was a banner of Our Lady of the Assumption, of the Salutation and of the Nativity," indicating the manner of her death. Eight maids of honour rode singly on white palfreys draped with black velvet, immediately after the hearse, each palfrey led by a man in mourning robes. At intervals along the way were seen groups of thirty-seven ladies, corresponding in number to the years of the queen, having chaplets of the Tudor green and white. The various religious fraternities, singing mournful dirges, met the procession as it passed along, and at Charing

Cross the Abbots of Westminster and Bermondsey in mourning copes met and preceded the cortege to the Abbey doors.

When the Queen's body was borne to the grave her four sisters and some of her other ladies offered thirty-seven palls, first kissing them and then laying them on the body. The hearse with effigy was first placed on the shrine of Edward the Confessor, and the body was then committed to a temporary grave in one of the side chapels.

Upon the tomb where her body now lies, the Queen's effigy, like that of the King, is plainly robed in flowing draperies and bears no suggestion of royalty, though originally it wore a crown. It is wrought with great dignity and graciousness, the expression is sweet and serene, the features delicate and it is no doubt a good portrait. The figure is that of a woman of tall and elegant aspect and measures about five feet and a half, that of the King being something over six feet in height.

Her kindness and consideration for Catherine of Aragon,* the young Spanish

*The splendid success of Torregiano in making the tomb of the King and of the King's mother, induced the young Henry VIII to order one for himself, and his young queen, Catherine of Aragon, which seems to have been begun but never

bride who came a stranger to England and was so soon widowed, is often mentioned.

completed. It was to be one third larger than that of his father, and in order to indicate that "famous princes leaving behind them great fame, their names never die," the effigies were to be represented not dead but sleeping. The tomb was to have a cheerful pavement of alabaster, serpentine and other coloured stones, children were to be represented at the base throwing red and white roses of fine oriental stones over the tomb: and a choir of twenty angels, bearing in their hands candlesticks which were to be perpetually lighted, were thus to show their honour and reverence for the departed.

Many and vital changes occurred in the King's life and the project of a tomb with Catherine of Aragon by his side was long since forgotten when he came to his death in 1547. He directed burial in Windsor, by the side of Jane Seymour, wisely forgetting the beheaded wives in the Tower chapel and the neglected wife in Peterborough cathedral: and ordered a monument of bronze having fourteen statues of prophets, five feet high: twenty of apostles and doctors of the church: recumbent effigies of himself and Jane Seymour: and a life-size *equestrian* statue of himself, which would certainly be a startling feature if it had ever been placed in the chapel. This was begun, but the bronze work was removed and sold by order of the Long Parliament.

CHAPTER XVIII

OTHER TOMBS IN THE NAVE OF HENRY VII'S CHAPEL

EDWARD VI, the only son of Henry VIII, borne him by Jane Seymour, the last male child of the Tudor line and the grandson of the founder of this chapel, was buried beneath the beautiful altar erected by Torregiano, close to the grave of his grandfather. When the present altar was reconstructed, Dean Stanley caused it to be inscribed, "To the honour of God and in pious memory of Edward VI, who is buried beneath," and a stone with inscription was also placed in the pavement.

A precocious child, who had readily acquired five languages, was skilled in playing the lute, and had a private orchestra with singing men, his character gave no promise of future greatness. The autobiography which he began to write, now preserved at the British Museum, opens quaintly enough, "In the year of our Lord, 1537, a prince was born to King Henry VIII by Jane Seymour, then queen,"* but no literary excellence appears

*Cottonian MSS. Nero c.X.

in the succeeding pages. He founded Christ's Hospital, the flourishing Blue Coat School: but he had given alarming indications of a harsh and tyrannical disposition and had he lived might well have become a second Henry VIII.

As a Protestant prince, whose natural successor, his half-sister, Mary, was a Roman Catholic, the boy was the centre of the hopes of the Protestant church. He died of consumption, and "the greatest moan was made for him that was ever heard," the Protestants dreading the return to the Roman Catholic faith. Archbishop Cranmer, who had baptised and crowned him, officiated at the funeral, which is described as a mass of black velvet without cross or light, and for the first time the burial service of the English Prayer Book was used at an English sovereign's funeral. While this service was in progress at the Abbey, the King's sister and successor, Queen Mary, was attending a Requiem Mass at the Tower.

James I of England and VI of Scotland, the first Stuart king (d. 1625), son of Mary Queen of Scots and Lord Darnley, lies buried within the vault of Henry VII, his great-grandfather. How he came to be buried in the narrow vault which was scarcely large enough to con-

tain the founder and his queen is a mystery. The place of his interment had long been lost sight of until, in 1869, after a prolonged search, Dean Stanley discovered the leaden coffin snugly placed by the side of the first Stuart's great-grandmother, Elizabeth of York, the covering of whose coffin must have been removed and the body pushed along in order to make room for the burly Scotchman.* The vault is only seven and one-half by two and one-half feet, and the floor only a few feet below the pavement.

The mother of James, the unfortunate Queen of Scots, by whose side he might naturally find burial, was sleeping under the noble monument provided by his filial care in the south aisle of this chapel: and in that same aisle had one of his loved sons, Henry, Prince of Wales, and his daughter, Elizabeth, been buried. In the north aisle rested his two infant daughters, one in the well-known Cradle Tomb. His queen, Anne of Denmark, lies alone in a spacious vault made for her in the northeast chapel of the apse close by. But the husband and father wished rather to be remembered as King in his death,

*Stanley: "As if, almost foreigner as he was, he wished to ingraft his family and fate on that of the ancient English stock through which he derived his title to the crown."

PART OF TORREGIANO'S ALTAR, CALLED THE TOMB OF EDWARD VI

and by posterity, and chose his resting-place—if indeed he did choose it—close to the king whose hardly-won title to the crown he must have known.*

His burial was stately and sumptuous, said by some to be the greatest England had ever seen. Spices and odors filled his coffin. There was a wonderful hearse, designed by Inigo Jones, having a domed roof and supported by pillars. Little flags, gilt crowns, coats-of-arms and crests decorated the structure in such profusion that it would seem to have resembled a gigantic wedding cake, and it remained standing for a long time, probably until the Commonwealth, with the well-made, richly dressed effigy. The funeral chariot and the running footmen who pre-

*Stanley thus describes the finding of the King's body: "It was with a feeling of breathless anxiety amounting to solemn awe that caused the humblest of the workmen employed to whisper with bated breath, as the small opening at the apex of the arch admitted the first glimpse into the mysterious secret which had hitherto eluded this long research. Deep within the arched vault were dimly seen three coffins lying side by side, two of them dark and gray with age, the third somewhat brighter and newer. The body to the right was Henry VII: the middle body was that of the Queen, Elizabeth of York: and that to the left was James. . . . The body had been wrapped in lead and enclosed between two half logs of solid timber, scooped out to the shape of the body." The inscription on the copper plate states that, born among the Scots, among the Angles he died, having reigned over Scotland fifty-seven years and over England twenty-two years.

ceded it were all in black velvet and twenty torches illumined the solemn scene. The procession was from ten in the morning until five in the afternoon in reaching the Abbey, and the new king, lonely little Charles I, faithfully followed the chariot on foot, as he had that of his mother's funeral, six years before. In the funeral sermon, Dean Williams compared the late King to Solomon in eight different particulars and cited the fact that he had begun to translate the Psalms to be sung in church and had completed the thirty-first, "when God called him to sing psalms with the angels."

Henry VII's chapel owes not a little of its beauty to this Scotch Stuart King. For himself he built no monument, though a classic monument had been planned. But the stately tomb of his mother, which lends so much dignity to the south aisle, was of his own devising, and the beautiful alabaster tomb of his grandmother, the Countess of Lennox, was his own gift to her memory. In the north aisle there are three beautiful monuments, and only three of note: and each of these, the two to his infant daughters and the stately monument of Queen Elizabeth, are the gift of the Stuart king.

At the east end of this central aisle of the king's chapel, a small stone in the pave-

ment north of that to Edward VI, marks the grave of Elizabeth Claypole (d. 1658, aet. twenty-nine years), the dearly-loved daughter of Oliver Cromwell. She was said to be a very handsome woman of high mental abilities and attainments, "and a dignity of deportment as of one born of a royal stem . . . the joy of her father's heart, the delight of his eyes and the dispenser of his clemency." Her death was a very great grief to the care-burdened Protector and "struck more to his heart than all the heavy burdens of his affairs." Her girlhood had been spent at Ely, where she was married to John Claypole, Cromwell's Master of the Horse. She lived much with her father at Whitehall, and administered its affairs with almost royal dignity and gentleness. The execution of Dr. Hewet, her favourite clergyman, for plotting against the Protector, and the death of her little son, Oliver, preyed upon her mind and she fell ill at Hampton Court.

Hither came the Protector, setting aside public business in order to watch by her bedside, and although the Councils of State were held at Hampton Court instead of Whitehall, he had no heart to attend them. In her agony, George Fox, the Quaker, wrote her a beautiful letter: "Be

still and cool in thy own mind and spirit from thy own thoughts . . . looking up at The Light . . . will give victory and ye will find grace and strength." She died, greatly lamented by those of both parties. "This day* it pleased God to put a period to the life of the Lady Elizabeth Claypole . . . to the great grief of all that have had the honour to be witness of her virtue, being a lady of most noble disposition and eminent in all princely qualities . . . which . . . procured her an honourable mention in the mouths of both friends and enemies."

Cromwell was too ill to attend her funeral and died within a month.

Every possible respect was shown her memory. The body lay in state in the Painted Chamber of Westminster Palace and was buried at night, according to the custom of that period, with great pomp, in this chapel of the Kings, as her father directed. A new vault was made for her and she alone of the many members of Cromwell's family buried in this chapel was suffered to remain undisturbed after the removal of other bodies at the Restoration. The bodies of her father, mother and friends were all torn from their graves and that of her father dishonourably

*Mercurius Politicus.

JAMES I

ELIZABETH CLAYPOLE

From a portrait now in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

treated. Stanley discovered her body in a coffin of lead, shaped to the form, bearing a silver plate with her name and title in Latin, all in good condition, and caused her name to be carved on a stone in the pavement as it now stands. Her very interesting portrait may be seen in the National Gallery at London.

Only one of the Hanoverian kings is buried here, with his numerous family to the second and third generation. George II died of heart disease in 1760 as he sat at breakfast in Kensington Palace. His queen, Caroline of Anspach, his great prop and stay, had died in 1737 and was buried here before him, the two lying in front of the altar, to the west of which may be seen the stones inscribed by Stanley's care with their names and dates. In the near vicinity are buried two of their sons, two daughters and five grandchildren. And so they rest quietly at last whose lives were full of petty personal wrangles, detractions and violence.

The dapper, choleric little Hanoverian king, despite his faults, is gently judged by Thackeray.* "He was not, on the whole, a worse king than his neighbours: he defended liberty and gave England peace, ease, and freedom: with all his faults he

*The Four Georges.

was not a hypocrite: courageous and could fight like a Trojan . . . he was incapable of dissimulation, and an exact observer of his pledged word."*

His coronation had been attended with all possible ceremony and magnificence and the funeral was almost equally rich. It took place in the Abbey at ten at night: the coffin, covered with a pall of purple velvet, was carried by twelve Yeomen of the Guard, six dukes being pall-bearers, and the hearse was drawn by eight horses in purple velvet trappings. Every seventh man in the procession bore a lighted torch (it was in November): the officers of the Horse Guard carried drawn sabres and wore sashes of crape: drums were muffled and bells were tolling and minute guns were fired all along the solemn way. The Abbey was so brilliantly illuminated that it could be seen more distinctly than by daylight. But within the chapel all was confusion: no order was observed: "people sat or stood

*It was said of him that he cared for Hanover, his birthplace, first: the Empire second and England third. He remained in Hanover for long periods at a time, and on one such absence a placard was tacked to St. James palace thus: "Lost or strayed out of this house, a man who has left a wife and six children on the parish. Whoever will give tidings of him to the church warden of St. James parish, so that he may be got again, shall receive a half crown reward. N. B.—This reward will not be increased, nobody judging him to deserve a crown."

where they could or would: the Bishop read sadly and blundered in the prayers: and the anthems, besides being immeasurably tedious, would have served as well for a nuptial."

Queen Caroline of Anspach (d. 1737), the true-hearted, able German queen-consort of George II, and one of the wisest and most discriminating queens that ever graced the English throne, is buried near the king. She had been married to him in her twenty-second year. Her coronation was magnificent and her robes "as fine as the accumulated riches of the city and suburbs could make them. Not only her own great store of jewels were worn, but on her head and shoulders were, in addition, all the pearls she could borrow of the ladies of quality at one end of the town, and on her petticoat all the diamonds she could hire of the Jews and jewelers at the other." (Hervey.)

Though a sensible woman, the esteemed friend and companion of the poets and philosophers of the day, she never learned to speak English correctly. She was, in particular, a friend of Sir Isaac Newton: but she was especially fond of controversial works and greatly admired those of Bishop Butler, whose "Analogy," written a year before her death, was her ordinary

light reading at the breakfast table. Lord Hervey tells us that she delighted to set Leibnitz and Clarke to a battle of wits, following the controversy with keenest interest, suggesting or commending each turn of the argument. It was for this queen's funeral that Handel, her singing-master and loyal friend, composed one of his most beautiful anthems, "The Ways of Zion do Mourn," which after the funeral "brought peace to the mourners."*

She was much interested in the drama and in Nance Oldfield, whose collection of plays she bought for one hundred and twenty guineas. She was devoted to landscape gardening and gave the artificial lake called The Serpentine to Hyde Park in exchange for the generous slice of the Park now known as Kensington Gardens,

*In the "Heart of Midlothian," it is this Queen Caroline to whom Jeanie Deans makes her impassioned appeal for the pardon of her condemned sister, Effie, having walked all the way to London from Edinburgh in order to see the Queen.

"I thought I was a good walker," said the Queen, "but this shows me sadly."

"May your Leddyship never hae sae weary a heart that ye canna be sensible of the weariness of the limbs," said Jeanie.

Scott gives a vivid description of the queen's appearance: "The lady's eyes were brilliant, her teeth good, and her countenance formed to express at will either majesty or courtesy." But to poor Jeanie she seemed to have "a goshawk glance that makes the skin creep and the knees bend."

which she took for her own private garden at Kensington Palace.

During the numerous and extended absences of King George in Hanover she was forced, without any constitutional right, to assume the duties and place of a sovereign. "She was as great a queen as queen could become under the circumstances, and ruled the country with such wisdom that her right to do so was never questioned." Scott says: "Since Margaret of Anjou no queen-consort had exercised such right in the political affairs of England."

She had been buried in Henry VII's chapel for twenty-three years when the King died. By his especial direction the coffins, placed side by side on a marble sarcophagus which bore their names, had their hands so placed that when one side of each coffin was removed their sceptres crossed and thus their dust would finally mingle.

The Four Children of George II buried here are: Frederick William, Prince of Wales (d. 1751), heir to the throne but dying nine years before his father (the only particular in which he resembled the Black Prince, says the witty Walpole), the crown fell to his son, who became George III. This prince was the least agreeable

and respectable member of a wrangling and unworthy royal family. Walpole said of him that "his best quality was generosity: his worst, insincerity and indifference to truth: he had his father's head and his mother's heart." But since the mother's head seems to have been the most valuable asset of this not very brilliant family, the prince evidently missed much. A petty, jealous, unprincipled man one must conclude him to be after reading the history of the family: yet he was kind to the poor and fond of little children. His mother sometimes tried to apologize for him, saying that Fred "was not such a fool as he looked." When *The Rambler* was first published, he "so enjoyed its stately wisdom that he sought out the author in order to serve him if he needed assistance," and in general was a friend to literary men. The Prince was greatly vexed because his second younger brother, the Duke of Cumberland, then only twenty-three, was selected to crush the Scotch Rebellion in 1745 instead of himself.

The Princess Augusta, of Saxe-Gotha (d. 1772), wife of Prince Frederick, is buried by her husband. She expected to be queen of England, but outlived her husband by twenty-one years and only attained the distinction of being mother to King

George III and was known as the Princess Dowager. She was seventeen when she came over to England to marry the prince, a tall, healthy, awkward, ill-made girl, childish in her ways, who could speak no English and but little French. She excited general admiration "by her fresh air, good humor and tasteful dress," and was said to be far more sensible than the bridegroom.* Walpole called her a woman of strong mind, as she must have been to win a compliment from that sharp critic. She lived through the first twelve troubled years of her son's, George III, reign.

There remain to be noticed as buried here three other children of George II.

The Princess Caroline Elizabeth (d. 1757), who died unmarried at forty-five, "the gentle princess Caroline," she is sometimes called, and perhaps the most admirable member of this strangely assorted family, "fair, good, accomplished and unhappy."† An unfortunate physical

*She brought with her a large jointed doll with which she used to play a half day at a time, dressing and undressing it before the Kensington Palace windows in full view of an interested audience. At one time she scandalized the family by taking the Sacrament at the German Lutheran Chapel, and when told that she would be sent back to Saxe-Gotha if she persisted in attending this chapel, she joined the Church of England.

†Doran's Lives of the Queens of England of the House of Hanover, 1:414-5.

defect rendered her unattractive to the eye, and an early, unhappy attachment to Lord Hervey, by whom she was much esteemed, destroyed her youth and happiness. She stood sponsor to one of his daughters, but in general lived the life of a recluse.

The Princess Amelia Sophia (d. 1786), generally called Emily, in youth had brilliant marriage prospects when betrothed to Frederick the Great: but for political reasons the match was broken off, though she corresponded with the Emperor until his marriage, long cherished his memory and wore his portrait next her heart. Hervey harshly, but perhaps truthfully, says that she was the prettiest of the family, but had much the least sense. She outlived father, mother, brothers and sisters, dying at the age of seventy-five.

William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland (d. 1765), was the second son of George II, "the ablest and fiercest of the family." When a young man of twenty-three, he was placed in charge of the army sent to Scotland to crush the Rebellion. His victory at Culloden in 1746, when his force of eight thousand conquered the Pretender's army of five thousand, and the horrible atrocities which followed the battle, under his sanction and even by his per-

sonal direction, won for him the unenviable name of The Butcher of Culloden, a title of which he was very proud. The story of the revolting cruelties, the maiming, burning and butchering practiced on the bodies of the dead and dying after the battle, and on innocent men, women and little children, even infants, for months after the victory, is scarcely paralleled in the world's annals, even among cannibals. It is to this prince that Campbell refers in Lochiel's Warning:

"Proud Cumberland prances insulting the slain,
And their hoof-beaten bosoms are trod to the plain."

There is a Highland tradition that every year, on the anniversary of the battle, at midnight, the Duke and his army for a brief space are let loose from Hades and marched past on Culloden Moor.

All his life the Duke revelled in sanguinary sports and debauchery which left him, at fifty, an old man, and he was generally called the old Duke. Yet he won the affections of his parents and of his worthless brother: was popular with the masses in England and a friend of General Wolfe. As Ranger of the Forest, his official residence was at Windsor Great Park, in Cumberland Lodge. He caused the artificial lake known as Virginia Water to be formed in order to drain the sur-

rounding country. Cumberland Gate in Hyde Park is named for this Prince and in Cavendish Square may be seen an equestrian statue erected to his memory by General Strode, an officer who had fought under him.

Five Children of Frederick, Prince of Wales, grandchildren of George II, are buried here:

Edward Augustus, Duke of York, his second son (d. 1767), a very plain child with great rolling eyes, but generally liked. He died at Monaco and was brought home in state for burial. "He is a sayer of things," wrote Walpole of him. Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, the third son (d. 1790), was buried in the southwest corner of the chapel, "fierce of temper, frivolous of character and foppish in dress."* He married so unwisely that the King, in order to prevent a recurrence of foolish marriages in the Royal family brought in the Royal Marriage Act, which provided that no prince or princess of the blood could marry before twenty-five without the consent of the sovereign. Elizabeth Caroline, the second daughter (d. 1759), of unfortunate figure but good abilities. Walpole says: "I saw her act in "Cato" when she was eight years old (when

*Doran's Princesses of the House of Hanover.

she could not stand alone but was forced to lean against the side scenes) better than any of her brothers and sisters. She had been so unhealthy that at that age she had not been taught to read, but had learned the part of "Lucia" by hearing the other repeat it": Princess Louisa Anne (d. 1768), the third daughter, ill almost from her birth, and died at eighteen, and Frederick William, the fifth son (d. 1765).

CHAPTER XIX

THE FIVE APSIDAL CHAPELS OF HENRY VII'S CHAPEL

FIVE small chapels radiate in fan shape from the rounded east end of the main aisle of Henry VII's chapel, forming, with the side aisles, an ambulatory, or what would be called an ambulatory if the chapels opened to each other and to the side aisles.

The outline of these chapels is unique: each has four unequal sides except the eastern one, which has its north and south sides parallel. The others have their two inner sides straight, but are built to incline towards the east in order to preserve the proportions of the apse. The outer side of each chapel has an effective, wavy outline caused by the small bay windows of which each is composed projecting, curiously and ingeniously, at three different angles, having a principal mullion at each angle and three traceried and embattled transoms. These windows were originally filled with beautiful quarried glass, some portions of which remain.

Each chapel has its own beautiful fan-

Apsidal Chapels

Tomb of Ludovic Stuart.
From Ackerman's Westminster Abbey.

traceried ceiling, the design being adopted to its space. A fan is outspread in each angle, and the intermediate spaces filled with richly-cusped quatrefoils enriched with bosses of roses, *fleur-de-lis* and the other Tudor emblems. The range of statuary seen in the triforium band of the main aisle is continued in the chapels, the figures being five feet high instead of three: and the lofty pierced pedestals, the traceried canopies, the noble figures and all the details of the carving, seen at close range, seem more beautiful even than in the more extended series. The row of cheerful demi-angels at the foot of the statuary also reveals new beauties when brought near the eye as they guard the emblems placed to their care, the crowned portcullis, the crowned rose, the crowned *fleur-de-lis* and other reminders of Henry VII's reign. No two of these angels are precisely alike. The traceried panelling at the base of the windows also appears more intimately decorative in these small enclosed chapels where its full beauty is disclosed than in the darker aisles, and fits gracefully into the general scheme of enrichment.

Each little chapel had once its altar, dedicated to one of the King's patron saints. All are readily seen and studied

from the main aisle and all except the eastern are now filled with monuments of no architectural interest.

The Southwest Chapel retains the basement of its original stone screen, and the small door by which the priest would have access to the altar once placed here. The screen is made to curve gracefully in harmony with its outer wall. Notice the beautiful traceried design at the base of the screen and also at the top of the battlemented arcade: and the quaint low doorway, the little wooden door and the old ironwork.

The statuary at the east (which doubtless served as a reredos for the small altar but is a part of the original building and was in place before the altar was founded), includes the figures of St. Dionysius, holding a mitred head, and St. Paul, reading a book which rests on the pommel of a broken sword.

The vast tomb of Ludovic Stuart, Earl of Richmond and Duke of Lennox, a much-esteemed cousin of James I (d. 1624), is the dominant feature of this chapel, and here are buried his duchess, Lady Frances (d. 1639), and three other members of this ancient family. The tomb consists of a great sarcophagus of black marble on which rest the bronze effigies of

the Duke and Duchess, their hands affectionately clasped: while a great canopy of pierced metal, gilt, is supported by four large weeping female figures representing Faith, Hope, Charity and Prudence. A winged and vigorous figure of Fame, at the top of the canopy is taking flight from earth as having no mission here after the death of the Duke. She bears two trumpets, on one of which she appears to be blazoning forth the merits of the quiet sleepers beneath. The Duke is in plate armour with coronet and his feet rest on a bull's head: the Duchess is in richly wrought robes and her feet rest on a lion. Two small metal figures are removing the drapery from a skull on the north side of the sarcophagus over the inscribed tablet. This once splendid monument became much decayed and was restored by the Earl of Darnley, a descendant of the family, in 1874.

The old Duke was found dead in his bed, and the Duchess expressed her grief in extravagant fashion by cutting off her hair. She ordered a funeral of royal magnificence. One thousand mourners walked in the procession and the effigy and hearse were richly arrayed. In recognition of the Duke's skill as an archer, two arrows were borne before his coffin. The

Duchess was the widow of Edward, the Earl of Hertford, and by her charge this tomb was erected.

Five members of the family are buried here:

Esme Stuart (d. 1660), a boy of eleven, the fifth Duke of Lennox, who died in Paris, and his heart lies in an urn which crowns a pyramidal monument. His funeral was celebrated with great pomp and his effigy was drawn by six horses. The monument is supported on four small skulls and is crowned by a gilt coronet.

Frances Theresa (d. 1702), Duchess of Richmond and Lennox, known as La Belle Stuart, a bright and fascinating figure in the Court of Charles II. This gay lady had been educated in France, was maid of honour to Charles' queen, Catherine of Braganza and to Mary of Modena, the queen of James II, and was so greatly admired by Charles that he would have divorced his queen in her favour had she permitted it. Her effigy, richly dressed in the robes and coronet which she wore at the coronation of Queen Anne, was placed, according to her own direction, "under crown glass and none other," by the side of her tomb and is still to be seen among the wax effigies in the Islip chapel. Her husband was the last of his

line, and the title becoming extinct it was bestowed by Charles II on Charles, his son by the Duchess of Portsmouth, who died in 1723 and is here buried with those of the same title in the original family.

The Second Chapel on the South Side, or The Southeast Chapel. This might well be called the Stanley Chapel, for here rests the venerable and beloved Dean of Westminster, Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (d. 1881), and his esteemed wife, Lady Augusta Stanley (d. 1876). In this peculiarly beautiful and radiant little recess, which seldom shares the gloom which pervades other parts of the great chapel, it is fitting that these two noble souls, whose beneficent lives will long be remembered at Westminster, should rest in honour.

The Dean's effigy of marble rests on a rich, high tomb of alabaster, the venerable face being an excellent portrait.

There is no epitaph but on the slab in the pavement bearing the Dean's name are the two texts, "I see that all things come an end but thy commandment is exceeding broad," and "We know that we have passed from death unto life because we love the brethren." The son of a Bishop of Norwich, Dean Stanley had been a Rugby boy under Dr. Arnold. For seventeen years he was the faithful dean of

Westminster, a careful custodian looking minutely into the condition of the fabric and employing all possible means to ensure its safety and preservation: a scholarly student of the Abbey's historical problems and genuinely interested in revealing the beauties of the noble church to all visitors, whether lofty or lowly. The restoration of the chapter house is one of his many good works. At his funeral, wrote his life-long friend, the late Dean Bradley, "the Abbey was thronged with mourners of all classes, including the Prince of Wales and the workingmen who had so often followed that small, spare figure in life as he conducted them through the loved Abbey and revealed to them its beauties."

Lady Augusta Stanley, who died five years before her husband, was the fifth daughter of Thomas Bruce, the seventh Earl of Elgin and was much beloved for her generous and gracious life and broad charities. A window filled with rich glass, containing scenes connected with the Bruce family, and the Lady Augusta as a benefactor, was placed in this chapel by the dean.

Antoine Phillipe, Duke of Montpensier, brother of the Louis Phillipe who became the "citizen-king" of France, an exile in England with his brother, died here in

1807. By his royal brother's care a beautiful monument by Westmacott was erected in this chapel of his burial, having an effigy in rich robes and ducal coronet reclining on a table tomb. The inscription states that "even in chains" he was unsubdued.

Louise of Savoy, queen-consort of Louis XVIII, who died in England in 1810, while the Bourbons were in exile, at the age of seventy-five, was placed in this chapel for a time until her body could be transferred to Sardinia.

The Statuary on the walls of this chapel includes figures of St. Clare in a long veil and the dress of an abbess, bearing a pix: St. Roch, who, attacked by the plague, retired to the woods in order not to distress others by a sight of his sufferings, and his little dog followed him, daily bringing him a loaf of bread from the city: and St. Monica, mother of St. Augustine, in cypress veil, bearing a small vase in her left hand. On the right or southwest side, beginning at the west are St. Elizabeth of Portugal, with sweet face, reading, and bearing a basket of roses and fruits of Paradise: St. Christopher, with the Christ child, and St. Appolonia bearing pincers.

The Eastern Chapel at the head of the apse, the central one of the five, repeats

the beautiful fan vault, the quarried, angled bow windows, tracery and sculptured band of figures of the other chapels. By reason of its generous light and convenience of access it furnishes an admirable point from which to study the glass, ornaments and sculpture at close range.

On the North side the statuary includes St. Nicholas, the patron of children, one hand in benediction, carrying a child in a small basket: a vacant niche, but the initials H R carved on the pedestal with a knot between a rose and a pomegranate are thought by some to indicate Henry VI: a venerable ecclesiastic reading, perhaps St. Thomas à Becket: on the South side, Edward the Confessor, bearing the ring which he gave to the pilgrim: St. Peter: and St. Ursula.

The windows contain several quarries of their original glass, and several collected from other windows: the designs include the hawthorn bush with Henry VII's monogram, crowned: the arms of the Confessor, the cross and martlets: a tree with white and red roses, crowned, for York and Lancaster: the tree of Lancaster: red roses and the *fleur-de-lis* of France, by itself and with the leopards of England. All are in sparkling mosaics of beautiful

Perpendicular glass and when all the windows of chapels and aisles were filled with these bright little quarries, the effect must have been singularly rich and elegant. The single patched but still rich figure now placed here for preservation represents the prophet Jeremiah, and was one of the "Prophet-messengers" from a noble series in the pictured windows of the clerestory (v. p. 452).

The Coronation Chair, at present standing in this chapel, was made for Queen Mary II at the time of the double coronation of William and Mary in 1689. It long stood beside the old Coronation chair of the kings in Edward the Confessor's chapel, but was removed in 1902, when Edward VII and Queen Alexandra were crowned: and again it was in use for the coronation of George V and Queen Mary. A queen reigning in her own right is anointed as she sits in this chair, as the king is also anointed seated: but a queen-consort kneels for this part of the ceremony, before the altar steps.

The most interesting feature of this chapel is the vault, with slab inscribed in the pavement, showing that here were buried and later their bodies disinterred as unworthy so choice a resting-place, Oliver Cromwell, his mother, sister and various officers of his Council and army.

Cromwell (d. 1658, aet. sixty) had been installed in Westminster Hall only five years before, the Coronation chair with the Stone of Scone being removed there for the ceremony. He died "exhausted by excessive fatigue of mind and body" on a day which he had thought ever auspicious, the day of the battles of Worcester and Dunbar. He was overcome with grief for the death of his beloved daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Claypole, whom he outlived only four weeks. "The sympathy of his spirit with his dying daughter did break him down," wrote Maidstone, who knew Cromwell. Among his last words were "divers expressions implying much inward consolation and peace: 'I would be willing,' he murmured, 'to live to be further serviceable to God and his people: but my work is done. Yet God will be with his people.'"

His body lay in state at Somerset House, the room being hung in black velvet, and the bed of black velvet. Eight silver candlesticks, nearly five feet high, containing wax tapers of three feet, were placed at the sides of the bed. Behind them stood Cromwell's four great standards of arms, richly painted and gilt.

His funeral was one of the most stately and magnificent ever known in England,

not excepting those of the Kings, and cost £150,000.

"This is the last ceremony of honour," wrote one, "and less could not be performed to the memory of him to whom posterity will pay (when envy is laid asleep by time) more honour than we are able to express." According to the custom, his body was privately buried several days before the funeral, and was represented in the magnificent funeral procession by an effigy, richly clad in purple velvet, holding a golden sceptre in his right hand and the orb in his left. This was placed in a stately chariot in a chair draped with cloth of gold and on a cushion was laid an imperial crown richly decorated with jewels. The procession was headed by sixty poor men in long black robes, corresponding to the years of Cromwell's life. The horse of honour, in rich trappings of crimson velvet and wearing plumes of red, white and yellow, was led by Lord Claypole, his son-in-law and Master of Horse. The hearse had a black velvet pall and was drawn by six horses covered with black velvet and wearing rich black plumes. Evelyn, a Royalist, wrote in his diary, "the joyfullest funeral that ever I saw."

At the Abbey, the effigy was conveyed, under a canopy of state, down the long

nave aisle and on to this easternmost point in the great church and there placed in the noble structure which was raised to receive it. The hearse with effigy remained exposed to view for three months.

John Bradshaw (d. 1659), President of the High Court of Justice which condemned Charles I to death, whose name stood at the head of the list of those who signed his death warrant, "a name* which will be repeated with applause wherever liberty is cherished or known" was buried here. Bradshaw had been a successful barrister, known to be sincere and faithful to his trusts. He accepted the position of Lord President of the Commission that tried the King with great humility, declaring himself unworthy of so important an office. He was accorded a large body guard for protection during the trial, and wore a steel-lined hat (now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum) for the same reason: his official robes for the occasion were scarlet. The trial lasted from January 20 to 27 and Bradshaw was much censured for his arrogant treatment of the king. He outlived Cromwell, dying in October, 1659, at the Deanery of Westminster, which had been granted him for

*Milton's Second Defense of the People of England.

residence, declaring to the last that if the King were to be tried and condemned again he would be the first man that would do it.

He was fond of reading and while living at the Deanery made himself a little study in the triforium of the Abbey, near the west end of the nave, which was liberally supplied with books and had a little fireplace for the Lord President's comfort. And here, according to the tradition, his ghost walks on the night of January 30, the anniversary of the King's execution. Mary, Bradshaw's wife, daughter of Thomas Marbury of Cheshire, died between the years 1655-9, and was buried in the chapel with her husband.

Col. Henry Ireton (d. 1651), Lord Deputy of Ireland under Cromwell, was one of the younger men of his Council, being only thirty-eight when he signed the warrant for the King's execution. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and read law in the Temple: a keen-witted, eloquent and forceful man (Morley) and a brave fighter at Edgehill, Naseby and Marston Moor. He was a true patriot and could present his views logically in speech or in writing. Yet he was one of the most conservative of the officers and desired to maintain as much of the existing condition

of the government as possible. He refused grants of money for his own use from Parliament, saying that it would better be used in paying the public debt.* He seems to have been the only man of whom Cromwell stood in awe, though strong friendship existed between them and each influenced the other. "No better brain than his was at work on either side: no purer character: firm, active, discreet, and with singular power of drawing others, including first of all Cromwell himself, over to his own judgment.†

Ireton had married Cromwell's daughter, Bridget, in 1646, a few days before the surrender of Oxford, and this formed a new tie between the two men. He died of plague in Ireland, and his body was brought to Westminster for burial. Parliament ordered a public funeral, which was conducted with great pomp. A handsome monument, with "a fervid epitaph," was erected to his memory but this soon disappeared. The inscription "*Dulce et*

*Burnet says that Ireton was the person that urged on the King's execution, Cromwell being not quite certain about it and that Ireton "had the principles and temper of a Cassius in him: he stuck at nothing that might have hurried England to a Commonwealth: and he found out Cook and Bradshaw, two bold lawyers, as proper instruments for managing it."

†Morley.

decorum est pro patria mori," on his hatchment, was interpreted by the Cavaliers, "It is good for his country that he should die."

Sir William Constable (d. 1655), knighted in Ireland when a young man by Essex, fought at Edgehill and one of his ensigns took the king's standard. He was one of the King's judges, attended nearly every session of the trial and signed the death warrant. His estates, with those of twenty-one other regicides, were confiscated by Parliament. He was married to Lady Dorothy Fairfax.

Col. Richard Deane (d. 1653) was one of the Commission to examine witnesses at the King's trial and one of the five appointed to decide on the time and place of his execution. He was related to Cromwell on his mother's side. He was killed while fighting the Dutch off the east coast. His body lay in state at Greenwich and Cromwell ordered a public funeral and burial in Henry VII's chapel.

Colonel Humphrey Mackworth (d. 1654), of Cromwell's Council, was buried in this vault: also Denis Bond (d. 1658), appointed one of the Commission to try the King, but it is said that no record of his attendance at even a single session has been found.

Admiral Robert Blake (d. 1657), a great naval commander, though it is said that he had never been on the deck of a man-of-war until he was fifty, had been employed against Prince Rupert, and against the last Royalist strongholds in the Scilly and Channel Islands. He also commanded the British fleet against Admiral Van Tromp and in the Spanish War. He died, worn out by long service, two hours before his ship was to arrive at Plymouth Sound, and was accorded an impressive public funeral and buried in the Abbey by Cromwell "in order to encourage his officers to venture their lives that they might be pompously buried." Hallam reminds us* that this is the first distinct claim of a burial in the Abbey as a reward for heroic achievement, "and it came well through a ruler from whose reign the maritime glory of the empire may first be traced in a track of continuous light."

Of Cromwell's own family there were buried in this vault:

His mother, Elizabeth Cromwell, who died in 1654, at the age of seventy, sister of Sir Thomas Steward of Ely, "a race well born and of good estate,"† was named for Queen Elizabeth. She was a

*Const. Hist., 2: 356.

†Frederic Harrison's Twelve English Statesmen.

beautiful young widow, Mrs. Elizabeth Steward Lynn, when she married Cromwell's father, and her portrait* does not look humble or suggest the "peasant mother," but able, well-dressed and intelligent. She had sterling good sense, a warm heart and a strong mind. A peculiarly deep affection existed between the mother and son, and when Cromwell rose in power he insisted that she should live with him amid the splendors of Whitehall palace. Every day, it is said, he visited her in her room to receive her loving sympathy and counsel. She lived in constant fear that he would be assassinated and constantly prayed for his success and safety. The Royalists spoke kindly of her. Her last words were, "My dear son, I leave my heart with thee." She had requested a private funeral and that she should not be buried in Westmnister Abbey: but this did not accord with her son's views and he gave her a magnificent funeral "of even more than royal splendour," at a cost of £60,000, which exceeded by half that of the funeral of James I, the last king buried here before the Commonwealth.

Jane Desbrough (d. 1656), Cromwell's sister, was married to General Desbrough

*v. Paterson's Oliver Cromwell.

of Cromwell's Privy Council* who made himself a name for courage and executive ability. Desbrough and Fleetwood warned Cromwell that if he ventured to accept kingship they would retire from the government.

Twelve years after the death of Charles I, by order of the House of Commons, the bodies of the "arch-rebels," Cromwell, Ireton and Bradshaw, were dragged out of their stately resting-place among the kings, drawn on sledges to Tyburn (near the Marble Arch on the Edgeware Road), and on January 30, the anniversary of Charles I's execution, they were hanged at the angles of the gallows from nine in the morning until six in the evening, facing towards Whitehall, where the King had been executed. They were then decapitated, the bodies thrown into a deep pit and the heads set up on poles near Westminster Hall, where the King's trial had taken place and where Pepys records that he saw them four days later. "A mean revenge," fittingly wrote Dr. Johnson. But Evelyn the Royalist took a different view and said: "Look back at Oli-

*Samuel Desbrough, a younger brother of this general, was one of the early settlers of Guilford, Ct., and married the daughter of Rev. Henry Whitefield, the first minister of Guilford. v. Savage, IV: 517.

ver's funeral! Feare God and honour the King and meddle not with them who are given to change."*

Cromwell's coffin was very rich and heavy and had gold nails and hinges. The body had been embalmed and wrapped in a green cere cloth. On his breast was found a copper plate bearing the dates of his birth, inauguration and death: the arms of the Commonwealth impaling those of the Crown: and the inscription, "*Oliverius Protector Reipublicæ Angliæ Scotiæ et Hiberniæ.*" His body lies buried a yard or two beneath the street, probably where Connaught Square now stands,† on the old site of Tyburn, near the lower corner of

*Numerous traditions were current concerning the final fate of the heads and bodies of these three men, and within a few years Bishop Welldon, now Dean of Manchester, following out carefully every possible clue, endeavoured to trace the traditions and if possible secure for the Abbey, of which he was then a Canon, any existing remains of these men so barbarously treated. But he was at last compelled to abandon the undertaking as absolutely useless. In 1911, an English clergyman believed himself in possession of Cromwell's head, which, according to the tradition (supported, said *The London Times,* April 13, 1911, by much evidence), was picked up when blown off the pole by a man who hid it and afterwards sold it. The measurements of the head corresponded with those of Cromwell's, but Premier Asquith did not consider the evidence of sufficient importance or that the Government should acquire the relic and arrange a state funeral.

†Firth's Life of Cromwell.

the Edgeware Road. "Over him the English pass, day after day, and generation after generation, and no longer fear priest, presbyter or king."*

A Bill for appropriating £500 for a statue to Cromwell in Westminster Hall, among the sovereigns of England, was introduced in Parliament by Mr. Herbert Gladstone in 1894, but was defeated. Public subscriptions were then invited for the same purpose and at once secured by *The London Chronicle* (Liberal), and a handsome bronze statue was finally erected just outside the Great Hall. And the ruler in whose time England won so lofty a place among the nations now stands in a position of honour, facing that very chapel from which his body was so ingloriously ejected.

"He was not much more a friend of Parliaments than Charles whom he slew, but he was such a massive piece of English history that the void his effigy now fills under the windows of the House of Commons must have ached for it before."†

A little later than this exhumation of the principal leaders of the Commonwealth, Charles II issued an order to the

*Trevelyan's England Under the Stuarts.

†W. D. Howells.

Dean of Westminster Abbey that all such as had been "unwarrantably buried" in the Abbey since 1641 should be disinterred and reburied in the churchyard of St. Margaret's, by the north transept. And September 12, 1661, they were exhumed and buried as directed, including the mother and sister of Cromwell and many others.

The vault thus emptied of those Puritans "dishonourably interred," became, in the years following, the resting-place of James Butler, Duke of Ormond, called one of the great chiefs of the Restoration: Charles Fitzroy (d. 1730), Duke of Cleveland and Southampton, son of Barbara Villiers and Charles II: Charles Fitzcharles, Earl of Plymouth, and other illegitimates of Charles II's blood: also William Bentinck, Duke of Portland (d. 1709), who had come to England from Holland with William of Orange: and the third Duke of Schonberg's family. The body of the Duke of Marlborough rested here for twenty-four years. Here also was buried Charles Boyle, Earl of Orrery (d. 1731), whose title is remembered in an astronomical instrument which the inventor, Graham, named for this Earl.

The Northeast Chapel repeats, in general, the main features of the others. The

statuary on the west wall is a representation of the martyrdom of St. Sebastian occupying three niches.

The cumbrous, commanding monument of John Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire (d. 1721), occupies nearly all the interior space. This Duke was distinguished as a statesman in the reigns of Charles II, James II and William and Mary, and was once an accepted suitor for the hand of Queen Anne, then a girl at Windsor. Charles II is accused of having sent the rash aspirant for royal favour to Tangiers in a leaky vessel. He later married Anne's half-sister, Catherine Sedley, the natural daughter of James II, who is also buried here.* The Duke produced some creditable poems and was a friend of Pope, Prior and Dryden, and erected the latter's monument in the south transept. He died an old man of seventy-five, in political disgrace for having plotted the return of the Stuarts. "For my king often, for my country ever," appears in his epitaph.

The great monument erected by Catherine Sedley, his third wife, has an effigy of the Duke in Roman armour, half reclin-

*It is said that Anne never forgot her early lover and when she became queen she bestowed two dukedoms on him.

ing on a sarcophagus, with Roman and other military emblems about him, including a banner bearing the letters S P Q R. A figure of Time appears under a large mural arch, bearing the medallions of two of his children who had died young. A seated figure of the Duchess (d. 1742), in the costume of this ornate period, mournfully regards her spouse. This lady bore herself very proudly, receiving visitors in state sitting under a canopy, and observing the anniversary of Charles I's death with much dignity.

The Duke built Buckingham House in London in 1703, on the site of an old mulberry garden: and this, in a remodelled state, is the present Buckingham Palace.

Anne of Denmark (d. 1618), queen of James I, daughter of the king of Norway and Denmark, is buried in this chapel but has no monument. Her two infant daughters are buried in the north aisle: her eldest son in the south aisle and her husband in the central aisle of this chapel. She was married to the Scotch James years before he came to the English throne, and after careful and deliberate thought on his part, others being also considered. James had unwisely consulted Queen Elizabeth as to his marriage, and she sent word not to marry to Denmark.

But the king, "after fifteen days' advisement, and devout prayer, as is said, called his Council together in his Cabinet, and told them that he was now resolved to marry in Denmark," a step which certainly required courage in a man who hoped to be the heir of Elizabeth's throne.

The interesting story of the queen's life cannot be told here: her life in Scotland after leaving the milder rule of Denmark: the birth of her famous children, Henry, Prince of Wales, Charles I, and Elizabeth of Bohemia, all familiar names in the pages of history: the announcement of the King's call to the English throne in 1603: the stately progress of the provincial Queen with her family to the new palace in London: and her life there, and the death of her eldest son, all these chapters of her history glow with romantic interest. She was naturally fond of pomp and grandeur, and interested in political conditions both in Scotland and England: humane, courteous, "one in whom there was much goodness."* Correr, the Venetian ambassador, describes her as gracious and pleasing but not beautiful, of a lively spirit, fond of outdoor sports, full of sweetness towards those who knew how to fall in with her humour: but on the other

*Harris' Life of James I, p. 32n.

hand, "terrible proud and intolerable towards those whom she dislikes."

Her funeral was not magnificent like that of Elizabeth, and the great procession of ladies wearing trains of broadcloth twelve yards in length was not provided with horses but walked wearily along on the warm May day from Somerset House to the Abbey. The king was too ill to be present and the young Prince Charles (Charles I) was the chief mourner and walked all the way behind the funeral car. When Dean Stanley opened this vault in his search for the body of James I, the queen's body was found in a leaden coffin over six and a half feet long, confirming the report of her unusual height.

The Northwest Chapel, second to the north of the central chapel, retains the rich, semi-circular base of its original stone screen, corresponding to that of the chapel on the opposite side, and has a small wooden door in the tracery of which appear the rose and pomegranate.

The niches for statuary have been ruthlessly broken in order to admit the great monument in the midst of the chapel: but on the east wall three figures remain: St. Stephen in the dalmatic, alb and stole of a deacon, his half-open book resting on the stones which are the emblems of his

martyrdom: the face fine and spiritual: St. Jerome, in cardinal's dress, and the lion against his knee: and St. Vincent, bearing what probably represents the cruets containing the holy oils, on a large napkin.

The lofty monument extending nearly to the ceiling was erected to the famous "Steenie," George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham (d. 1628), the familiar favourite of James I in his later years and of Charles I, whom he continued to call "Baby Charles" for many years. The high altar tomb of black marble bears two effigies of bronze, one for the Duchess who erected the monument; obelisks of black marble, each resting on a skull, stand at the angles of the tomb and at the back rises a towering, richly decorated black marble slab crowned with three pedimented arches. There is a large weeping bronze figure at each obelisk, one a native, one a Roman soldier and two are women. Four children kneel at the head of the effigies. The Duke is in armour decorated with knots and initials and wears a mantle and the Collar of the Garter. He has a pointed beard, long curling hair and a coronet.

The Duchess, Lady Catherine Manners, who died in 1643 but is buried elsewhere, is represented by an effigy with pleasing face, and in the rich dress of the period.

CHAPTER XX

THE SIDE AISLES OF HENRY VII'S CHAPEL—THE NORTH AISLE

THE side aisles of Henry VII's chapel were once open to the central aisle at the eastmost bay, but are now entirely separated from it by the choir stalls inserted in the eighteenth century and are entered only from the main vestibule at the west end.

Architecturally, these aisles of four bays each are of equal beauty with the nave of the chapel and their lavish ornament well suited to the lesser area. The fan tracery of the vault is carefully adapted to the narrow span of the arch, and yet is in perfect harmony with that of the central aisle, the group of fans in each bay clustering round a rich pierced pendant in the midst. Wide panelled archways separate the bays. The outer walls are, I believe, unique, consisting of an almost continuous series of angled bow windows, very skillfully and elegantly designed,

strongly transomed and mullioned, glazed with diamond panes of light weight, and separated, not by a flat wall space or yet, as one might expect, by heavy buttresses, but by a series of turrets formed by the inner half of an octagonal buttress which has an inner and an outward projection. The range of sculptured figures is continued at the east end of each aisle, and below it runs the border of demi-angels with emblems.

Each aisle contains royal tombs, and also vaults in which many members of royal families have been buried. In the two aisles long chapters of English history are represented, for here sleep Queen Elizabeth and her sister Mary: Mary Queen of Scots: Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia: children of James I and Charles I and Charles II: William and Mary of Orange, and Queen Anne and her Prince Consort.

The North Aisle. Entrance to this aisle is under a low-arched, fan-traceried little vestibule, one half of which forms a small Oratory against the north wall, probably used by the priests of the chapel. It is built in two panelled stages with a beautiful frieze of carved oak leaves, and the remains of lovely cresting appear. A small window in the upper stage overlooks the aisle. Fragments of fine old glass are

seen in the tracery, and there is a narrow, barred slit in the blank east window. The beauty of this little oratory is obscured by the heating apparatus here placed.

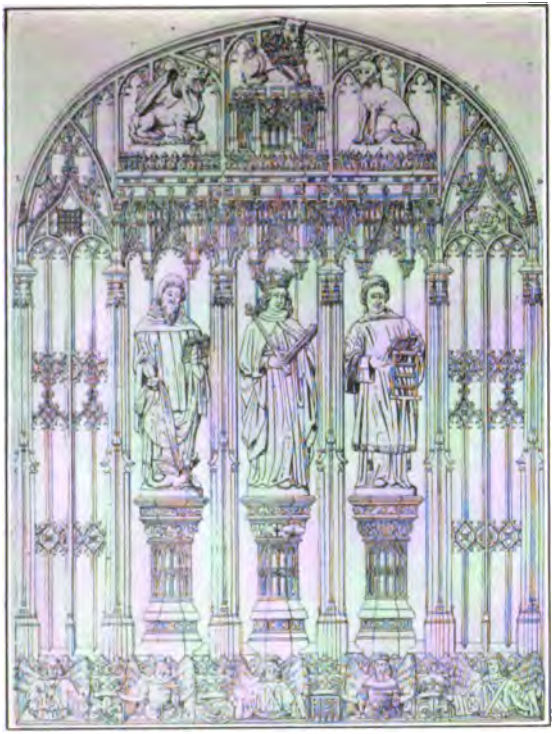
Above the Oratory, on the west wall, is a small window through which are dimly seen the exterior of the chapter house and the north ambulatory: it has Perpendicular tracery of beautiful design and some fragments of its original glass.

The Statuary at the east end includes figures of St. Laurence, with a book resting on a gridiron, the emblem of his martyrdom: St. Armagillus, and St. Guthlac, who lived in the Fen Country. He wears the dress of a hermit with a priest's chasuble and knight's gauntlets, and a dragon is seen at his feet.*

On the south side of the aisle the backs of the choir stalls are seen, those at the west being still entire, while the others have been cut in two and deprived of their northern faces in order, as we have already seen, to furnish fronts for additional stalls at the east.

Three small Consecration Crosses are painted on the north wall: one is at the

*A history of this saint was written by one of his contemporaries named Felix. A parchment roll in the British Museum dating from the twelfth century, gives his life in a series of beautiful outline drawings.



IMAGERY IN THE NORTH AISLE OF HENRY VII'S CHAPEL
From Cottingham's Henry Seventh's Chapel.

NORTH AISLE OF HENRY VII'S CHAPEL

west of and close to the tomb of Queen Elizabeth, at about the height of the capitals of the column supporting her canopy, on the inward-projecting angle of the panelled wall. Look for the second cross on a similar buttress to the west: and a third at the east.

The grave of the poet, Joseph Addison (d. 1719, aet. forty-seven), is marked by a slab in the pavement close to the entrance of this aisle: but the body is in the vault at the head of Elizabeth's tomb and the monument in the Poets' Corner, where the burial is described (v. p. 174). The Abbey had ever been to this poet rich in impressive meanings and memories and here he loved to stroll about with his friend, Dean Atterbury: here he brings Sir Roger de Coverly. He writes of the "men and women, friends and enemies, priests and soldiers, monks and prebendaries, early youth and old age buried here.* When I am in serious humour I very often walk here by myself: where the gloominess of the place and the use to which it is applied, with the solemnity of the building and the condition of the people who lie in it are apt to fill the mind with a kind of melancholy, or rather thoughtfulness, that is not disagreeable

*The Spectator, No. 261.

. . . but I do not know what it is to be melancholy and can therefore take a view of nature, in her deep and solemn scenes, with the same pleasure as in her most gay and delightful ones. By this means I can improve myself with those objects which others consider with terror."

James Craggs (d. 1718), a friend of Addison and his successor as Secretary of State, is buried in the same grave. His monument, considered a fine one in its day, now stands in the baptistry at the west end of the nave.

Among other burials in the vault with Addison is that of General George Monk, who died in 1670, ten years after the Restoration of Charles II, which he had laboured so zealously to accomplish, being created Duke of Albermarle as a reward for his services. His monument is in the south aisle of this chapel (v. p. 596). In this same vault rests his wife, who died in the interval between the death of her husband and his burial.

The dominant feature of this aisle is the stately tomb of Queen Elizabeth (d. 1603), buried in the grave with Queen Mary, royal sisters, daughters of Henry VIII by Anne Boleyn and by Catherine of Aragon, and granddaughters of the founder of this chapel.

Queen Mary (d. 1558) was the first to be buried in this north aisle, but no monument was erected to her memory. The tomb was raised by James I to the memory of his predecessor, in 1606, and the inscription was made to include the names of both queens. It is a wide monument occupying nearly all the width of the aisle, and is the last one erected to a sovereign of England. It was famous throughout the country and pictures of it were found in nearly all the large churches.

The great tomb in the Renaissance style, built of white marble and touchstone, consists of a wide low table on which rests the effigy of Queen Elizabeth, supported by four lions, and over it rises a canopy of three bays, the central one arched, and is supported on ten black marble columns. The royal supporters appear at the angles of the canopy. The effigy represents an aged woman with sunken brows, strong Roman nose, wearing a mantle with collar and cuffs of ermine over her long robes: a close jewelled cap, necklace of pearls with pendant, long earrings and jewelled belt. The feet rest on a lion: the crown once on her head has been stolen away, also the orb and sceptre. When the vault was opened by Dean Stanley in 1869, on

the cedar casing of the oaken casket was found an incised rose with the initials E R and 1603: and this has been copied on a card now placed at the side of the tomb. The outer case of the coffin had been covered with red silk velvet. Queen Elizabeth is buried on the north side and Queen Mary on the south. On its inner side the canopy is richly studded with gold rosettes: in the frieze and at the base are shields of arms. The black marble columns have Corinthian capitals of metal overlaid with gold. The inscription at the head reads: *"Regni Consortes et urna, his obdormimus Elizabeth et Maria sorores, in spe resurrectionis."*

"The long war of the English Reformation is closed in those words. In that contracted sepulchre, admitting of none other but those two, the stately coffin of Elizabeth rests on the coffin of Mary. The sisters are at one: the daughter of Catherine of Aragon and the daughter of Anne Boleyn repose in peace at last.*

Queen Mary I (d. November 17, 1558, at the age of forty-two), daughter of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, is usually known in history as the Bloody Mary: but she is not, I believe, more entitled to that epithet than many another

*Stanley's Memorials.

zealous sovereign in those dark centuries when the narrow tenets of one's own particular creed seemed so immeasurably vital that to doubt meant condemnation in this world and especially in the next: and to remove a heretic from earth was to destroy a source of great and everlasting danger to the people. Mary was the instrument rather than the instigator of the persecutions of her reign, and was overborne by her bishops and her Spanish husband.

She was the first English queen to reign in her own right: since then there have been another Mary: Elizabeth: Anne, and Victoria: she was the first person to be buried in this aisle, for the chapel had at that time been less than forty years completed: she was the last English sovereign for whom the funeral rites of the Roman church were said within the Abbey.*

Mary was born at Greenwich Palace, February 18, 1516, her mother, Catherine of Aragon, having then been married to Henry VIII since June 7, 1509, and had given birth to several sons, who had died in infancy. She was seventeen years old, quite old enough to share her agony of spirit when the mother was set aside and the King married Anne Boleyn.

*But dirge and requiem were ordered here by Elizabeth, for Charles V, Emperor of Rome.

Mary reigned only five years, four of which she was the unhappy wife of the unfeeling Philip of Spain. For a brief space she brought back the religion of her mother and her husband as she sincerely believed it to be her duty to the welfare of her people. Fuller charitably says: "She had been a worthy princess if as little cruelty had been done under her as by her." Her marriage to Philip of Spain, celebrated with great magnificence and rejoicing at Winchester Cathedral, which promised to bring happiness to her hitherto clouded life, was full of disappointment in every respect. "The English Mary,* though she did not perish by a violent death, was hardly behind the Scotch Mary as a queen of sorrows. But the qualities which wrought Mary Tudor's ruin and the penalties which she paid do not appeal to the popular imagination like the misfortunes and punishments of Mary Stuart." At length, in her forty-second year, ill in body and mind, fearing assassination, disappointed and weary of life, living almost a recluse and daring to trust no one, with her courtiers already on their way to Hatfield to salute the incoming queen, her half-sister Elizabeth, she breathed her last, glad that the long strug-

*Tyler's Tudor Queens and Princesses.

gle was about to be ended, and cheerfully trusting to her religion for hopes of future happiness. "After receiving extreme unction she requested that mass might be said in her room. When the Host was raised, she lifted her eyes to heaven and at the benediction bowed her head and died."

Her body lay in state with a watch of ladies at St. James Palace. The funeral procession was magnificent in all its details. As she had been a queen in her own right, a helmet, sword and armour were borne before her as for a king.

"So up the highway* went the foremost standard, the falcon and the hart. Then came a great company of mourners. Then another goodly standard of the lion and falcon, followed by King Philip's servants, riding two and two. The Somerset, Lancaster, Windsor and York heralds carried four white banners of saints embossed in fine gold. . . . The Queen's ladies came after on horseback, but their black trains were long enough to sweep after them on the ground."

Mourning monks formed a part of the procession, mourning not only for the queen as a friend, but for the radical changes which must certainly follow the incoming of the Queen Elizabeth. All

*Strype's Memorials.

through the night there was a solemn watch in the Abbey. One hundred poor men in fine black gowns and hoods carried long torches and the Queen's guard carried staff torches, wax chandlers being present to replace them when they burned out. The next day the Queen's mass was celebrated, the Bishop of Winchester preaching the sermon, and Elizabeth being present. Philip, who had not cared to come to his wife with loving sympathy in her time of distress, celebrated the Queen's solemn requiem at Brussels at the same hour. She had earnestly requested to be buried in the humble garb of a poor nun without crown or jewels or robes of state, and this wish was probably respected. It is a curious fact that this ardent Romanist, so generous in providing masses for the souls of others, made no such provision for herself. She desired that the body of her distressed mother, Catherine of Aragon, "most dear and well-beloved," might be brought from its lonely grave in Peterborough Cathedral and buried by her side and that a suitable monument might be provided for both: but Elizabeth paid no heed to this request and mother and daughter sleep apart. But for James I, who prepared the inscription on this tomb of Elizabeth and included the name of

Mary, she would be unnoticed in the Abbey precincts, like most of her successors.

Queen Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, died in 1603 at the age of seventy, having reigned forty-five years. She was crowned in 1559 by Dr. Ogle, Bishop of Carlisle: a woman of very different type from her sister Mary, on whose coffin her own was placed. While Mary's name is chiefly remembered in connection with bloody religious persecutions, that of her successor is connected with the progress and encouragement of arts and sciences and the increase of national prosperity. Her indomitable courage and energy were masculine rather than feminine, and she had few of the soft graces with which her mother, Anne Boleyn, won the fancy of Henry VIII. In the early days of James I she was often referred to as King Elizabeth and he as Queen James. Yet in youth she must have been of attractive if not beautiful appearance, with her mass of auburn hair, hazel eyes, regular features, glowing, enthusiastic expression and abounding energy.*

*A Silesian traveller who saw her at 65, while visiting England, thus describes her. "Very majestic, her face oblong, fair but wrinkled: eyes small yet black and pleasant: nose a little hooked, lips narrow, hair auburn but false: hands slender, manner of speaking mild and obliging: her stature neither tall nor low." He describes her as being

The Queen's death was greatly mourned. "Such a sighing* and groaning and weeping as the like hath not been known in the memory of man": not because she had been deeply beloved but because a safe and energetic sovereign was lost to England. With great courage, the Queen rode and hunted to the last, even when so ill that she had to be lifted to her saddle. Her courtiers, assured that at her advanced age recovery was impossible, one by one began to leave her, as courtiers had in their turn left Queen Mary for Elizabeth, in order to secure the favour of James, her successor. With sorrow she repeated the saying of other sovereigns thus deserted: "I have nobody left me that I can trust." She grew sad and despondent. Her strong face and active figure became haggard and shrunken. She would not go to her bed or take food, but sat silent for days among cushions on the floor. Her old friend, Admiral Lord Nottingham, was summoned, and she finally allowed herself to be placed in her bed.

served with very great state and ceremony. While dinner was being brought in by the 100 Yeomen of the Guard, twelve trumpets and two kettle drums made the hall ring for an half hour together. A lady taster made each guard taste of the dish he had brought."

*Stow.

Her funeral was stately and magnificent as became that of a great queen. Sixteen hundred mourners were in her train.*

The epitaph is in Latin, a part of which translated, follows: "The darling of England,† a princess endowed with heroic virtues, wisdom and a greatness of soul much beyond her sex: and incomparably skilled both in affairs of state and in languages. Here she lies buried in a stately monument which King James I piously erected for her. . . . In her reign Religion was Reformed, Peace established . . . Ireland quieted and the whole world twice sailed round."

The Queen's interest in Westminster Abbey had been unfailing, and to the Abbey she granted its present form of government by a Dean and twelve prebendaries, with the title, "The Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster."

*In an old pamphlet of the year 1603, the order of this Queen's procession is given as follows:

First the Knight Marshal's man to make way: next the 240 poore women by 4 and 4: then a long train of servants, noblemen, clergy, ambassadors, etc.; then, "The lively picture of her Highnesses' whole body, crowned, in her Parliament robes, lying on the corps, balmed and leaded, covered with velvet, borne on a chariot and drawn by four horses trapt in black velvet. Last came countesses, viscountesses, earls' daughters, baronesses, maids of honour; the captain of the Guard with all the guard following, 5 and 5 in a rank, halberds drawn," etc., etc.

†Camden's Britannia, 1 : 338.

The monument, erected by King James, was not, however, paid for from the Scotch king's purse but from the public funds. The design may have been, in part, at least, by Nicholas Hilliard, the Queen's goldsmith. Sir Robert Cecil had the oversight of the building and among other artists employed were John de Critz and Maximilian Pourtrain. A fine iron grille decorated with roses and *fleur-de-lis* once guarded the tomb but was removed in 1882.*

In the vault in this aisle rests Edward Montagu, Earl of Sandwich, one of the instruments in the Restoration, but perhaps best known to posterity through the diary of his secretary and cousin, Samuel Pepys. "I would do much for my Lord Sandwich," writes this valiant diarist, "but will not ruin myself by answering a bill of exchange for him." He was not always exemplary, for Pepys felt it upon his conscience at one time to write him "a great letter of reproof," telling him what the world said of his conduct, a duty which "every bit of bread that I eat tells me I owe to your Lordship." The Earl went richly clad at Charles II's coronation in a

*Among the many laudatory verses of the day was the following:

"She is, she was, what more can there be said,
On earth the first, in Heaven the second maid."

coat embroidered and decked with diamonds, made in France at a cost of £200.

Evelyn says that the Earl was prudent and valiant, but not rash: and at the last, being accused of too great caution, he practically threw his life away, and was blown up in his ship with his soldiers about him. "He was learned in sea affairs, in politics and in music, of a sweet and obliging temper . . . a true nobleman and an ornament to his Prince and the Court." His funeral was conducted with great pomp.

In the same vault was buried Isaac Dorislaus, a Dutch diplomat, married to an English wife, and appointed to the chair of history at Cambridge. His knowledge of civil law was of much assistance to the Parliamentary party, whose cause he espoused at the Civil War, and he incurred the bitter enmity of the Royalists by his assistance in preparing the charge of high treason against the king. He was assassinated in Holland by Royalist refugees, his body brought to England and after lying in state at Worcester House, was buried in this chapel with much ceremony. Though his body was disinterred with the others at the Restoration, it was reburied in St. Margaret's churchyard, but not, it is said, in the common pit into which the others were cast.

The name Innocents' Corner has been applied to the east end of the north aisle because here rest four royal children, two infant daughters of James I and the two Princes murdered in the Tower.

An alabaster cradle of full size, having a panelled hood or canopy all richly carved, contains the alabaster figure of the infant Princess Sophia, daughter of James I, only three days old when she died in 1606. This, one of the best known tombs in the Abbey is called the Cradle Tomb, and has been the subject of several poems. The Latin epitaph on the verge of the tomb prettily describes the child as "a royal rosebud plucked by premature fate . . . that she might flourish again in the rosary of Christ." A richly wrought alabaster coverlid is draped over the pretty figure of a sleeping infant, and spreads out amply over the high stone base on which the cradle rests. The chubby face of the tiny princess, her eyes partly open, looks towards the east and is protected, as if from draught, by the hand of a careful mother, by a curve in the coverlet, "as straightened for the last good-night." And so here she sleeps, the little Scotch Sophia. A copy of Susan Coolidge's poem on this tomb was copied and placed on the wall near by, at the request of Lady Stanley.

Tomb of the Princess Sophia

From a drawing by R. H. Edwards.

"It seems no more than yesterday
  Since the sad mother, down the stair
And down the long aisle stole away
  And left her darling sleeping there.

Above the peaceful pillowed head
  Three centuries brood, and strangers peep
And wonder at the carvéd bed—
  But not unwept the baby's sleep.

For wistful mother eyes are blurred
With sudden mists, as lingerers stay.

Soft furtive hands caress the stone
  And hearts o'er leaping place and age
Melt into memories and own
  A thrill of common parentage."

A very elaborate wardrobe had been prepared for the child and great preparations made for the christening and attendant festivities. The King of Denmark was to come over to be sponsor for his grandchild: but a solemn funeral and a tiny monument were all that the loving parents could bestow on the little princess. She died at Greenwich palace, whence her body was brought in a barge richly covered with black velvet to the Abbey, "all the great lords of the Council with the herald and chief officers of the court" being in attendance and the Bishop of Rochester officiating. The tomb, "for our late dear daughter, the Lady Sophia," was ordered of the King's master sculptor, Maximilian Pourtrain, and was to be executed in ivory* at a cost of forty pounds. Fuller says of it:

*Wood's Princesses.

"Therewith vulgar eyes, especially of the weaker sex, are more afflicted (as level to their cognizance, more capable of what is pretty than what is pompous) than with all the magnificent monuments of Westminster."

In 1607, a year after the death of the infant Sophia, died her little sister Mary, aged less than two years, "of a burning fever." She was named for her beautiful grandmother, the Queen of Scots, and was the first child born to King James after he came to the English throne, Henry, Prince of Wales, Elizabeth of Bohemia and Charles I being her elder brothers and sister. Among the rich preparations made for her coming were a carnation velvet cradle, silver fringed and lined with carnation satin, cradle cloth of the same coloured velvet, and bibs and veils edged with fair bone lace, all at a cost of £300. Great demonstrations were made at the infant's birth: bells rang, cannon fired and bonfires burned all day long. "Much ado there was* who should be nurse to my lady little one: it hath fallen at last to a poor painter's wife." The King wrote that she was "a most beautiful infant." She was christened right royally in the chapel of Greenwich Palace, and

*Toby Matthews.

was given in charge of Sir Thomas (later Lord) Knyvett, in Stainwell, Middlesex: £20 a week being allowed for her diet and that of her attendants, the latter including "six rockers." When seventeen months old she sickened of a fever and no means availed to save her. The touching story of her last hours is told by one who stood by her dying bed. "Then her voice became so weakened by reason of her wearisome and tedious sickness that for the space of twelve or fourteen hours there was no sound of any word heard breathing from her lips: yet when it sensibly appeared that she would soon make an end of a troublesome life, she sighed out these words, "I go, I go" . . . and again she repeated, "Away I go": and yet a third time, almost immediately before she yielded up herself, a sweet virgin sacrifice unto Him that made her, she faintly cried, "I go, I go."

The Queen urgently requested a funeral of state for the child, but this was not granted and her body was brought in a couch to the care of Dean Richard Neyle at the Abbey and thence consigned privately to this burial place: and an elaborate funeral sermon seems to have been the only worthy feature of the little princess' funeral.

The black marble tomb is far simpler than that of her infant sister and consists of a low sarcophagus and an effigy of the child half reclining on her elbow, as if saying, "I go": and her face is turned towards the baby sister in the cradle by her side. The effigy, dressed in the stately fashion of the times, has a childish face, delicately wrought hands, reclines on embroidered cushions and the feet rest on a lion which would surely have frightened the child's eyes. Weeping cherubs, now much mutilated, sit at the angles of the pedestal of the tomb. The Latin inscription, translated, reads: "I, Mary, daughter of James I, received into heaven in early infancy, found joy for myself but left longings to my parents, on 16th September, 1607."

These two tombs rest on the old steps of the altar that once stood at the east end of this aisle.

Within a square recess cut out in the east wall of this aisle, lined with black marble, stands a small white marble sarcophagus containing the bones which, with little doubt, are those of the young sons of Edward IV, being Edward V, the king of a few months who was never crowned: and his younger brother, Richard, Duke of York, "put to silence in the year 1484, and

the Duke of Gloucester took on him the crown."* The fact of their murder was long disputed, and the bodies were not found, after they had disappeared from the Tower where they had been placed "in such wyse that they never came abroad after" until, nearly two centuries later, in the reign of Charles II, when workmen engaged in making a new stair to the White Tower came upon the bones of two children which corresponded in size and in all other respects to those of the princes' age. The King came to view them and ordered them buried in the Abbey and Sir Christopher Wren to design a monument with urn to their memory.

The elder brother, Edward V, all of whose reign was comprised within the three months immediately following the death of his father, was born while his mother was in sanctuary in Westminster Abbey in 1470, she in her distress fleeing from the Earl of Warwick, who had driven the king out of England. In the Abbey the child was christened, the Abbot and Prior being his godfathers, with a ceremony as mean as that of a poor man's

*Fabyan. A recent writer in the English Historical Review, 6: 444, attempts to prove that the princes were murdered by Henry VII: but Gardiner, commenting adversely on this suggestion, says that any attempt at whitewashing Richard III is utterly hopeless.

child."* Richard, Duke of York, the younger brother, was but twelve years old and had been married, at five, in St. Stephen's chapel, to little Lady Anne Mowbray, of about the same age, daughter of the fourth Duke of Norfolk, the united ages of the pair being ten years. When Richard of Gloucester sent to Edward IV's queen for her younger son, she was then in refuge at the Abbey and long refused to give up her boy to the care of his uncle: but the Archbishop of Canterbury persuaded her, assuring her of his safety. The story of the murder of the princes by the direction of their uncle is well known, and is based upon the chronicle of Sir Thomas More, who carefully sifted all the evidence and presented what was commonly believed in his time.

*Sir Thomas More.

CHAPTER XXI

THE SOUTH AISLE OF HENRY VII'S CHAPEL

"Under the marble's milk-white satin,
With cherubim, seraphim, trumpets of Fame
And stately scrolls of imperial Latin,
Blazoning proudly each deathless name."

SIR EDWIN ARNOLD.

The South Aisle is a counterpart of the north, but contains three large monuments instead of one. It has a little porch corresponding to the Oratory in the north aisle, from which two doors open out, one to a turret, for workmen's use: another which was used by the monks coming from the cloister to this chapel. The rich, fan-traceried ceiling is repeated here: also the angled bow-windows retaining some few pieces of their original glass: the panelled walls, and the statuary at the east end, where two figures remain of the original three, St. Katherine and St. Margaret. Three consecration crosses are painted on the south wall, about eight feet from the pavement, similar in position to those in the opposite aisle.

Two kings, four queens and at least thirty-two royal children are buried in this

aisle: but there is only one monument for them all. In place of the single stately tomb in the midst of the aisle, as that of Elizabeth in the north side, there are here three tombs of much beauty, but only one to a royal occupant. The central one is in memory of Mary Queen of Scots, corresponding in location and general appearance to that of Elizabeth: while two rich altar tombs with effigies stand to east and west of it.

Of these two monuments, that nearest the entrance to the aisle is in memory of the Lady Margaret Douglas (d. 1578), daughter of Henry VII's daughter, Margaret Tudor by her second marriage to the sixth Earl of Angus, a near heiress to both the English and the Scotch thrones, and for this reason the object of innumerable jealousies and misfortunes. At one time she stood as sole heir to the crown. She had Wolsey for her godfather, and her early life was chiefly spent in England at the gay court of Henry VIII, in which she was the first lady of honour on the birth of Queen Elizabeth: and later, to Anne of Cleves and to Katherine Howard, and was bridesmaid to Queen Catherine Parr. She was called beautiful beyond the average and seems to have been highly esteemed by her royal relatives.

She was happily married, in her twenty-ninth year, to Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox, and went to live in Scotland. When Mary came to the English throne Lady Margaret returned to the court and, on account of her Roman Catholic tendencies, became a special friend and confidant of the queen and was assigned apartments in Westminster Palace. At the end of Mary's brief reign, and the accession of Elizabeth, Lady Lennox, who had been excluded from the succession by Henry VIII, retired to Yorkshire and exerted all her energies to securing the united thrones of England and Scotland for her son, Lord Darnley, by marrying him to Mary of Scotland, who was next heir to Elizabeth. Her Yorkshire home became "the centre of Catholic intrigues" and for a time her husband was imprisoned in the Tower and she and Lord Darnley were detained at three different times at the residence of Sir Richard Sackville at Sheen. Later, she was sent to the Tower by Elizabeth for her attempts to bring about her son's marriage to the Scotch queen. After the murder of Darnley, her husband, to whom she was sincerely attached, was appointed Regent of Scotland.*

*Elizabeth certainly showed much clemency to this plotter against her peace, and the Lady Margaret's troubles seem to have been almost entirely the re-

She had four sons and as many daughters, all of whom she outlived. But her grandson, James VI of Scotland, after her death succeeded in gaining the English crown, and so the great ambition of Lady Margaret's life was accomplished. "To the very last she sacrificed her own comfort and happiness to effect this end." She died in poverty at Hackney, and was buried at Queen Elizabeth's charge. Her tomb had been in part arranged for by her will: but her grateful grandson, when he became king of England, not only erected a noble tomb in this aisle to his mother, the Queen of Scots: and one of equal splendor to his predecessor, Elizabeth: but probably built a large part of this to his grandmother, whose efforts for his glory had been so richly rewarded. He also directed that the body of his father, her son, Lord Darnley, which had been thrust into Rizzio's grave at Holyrood after the murder,

sult of her own ambitious schemes. In her last days, she sent Mary Queen of Scots, as a mark of her affection, some beautiful embroidery which she had wrought with her own gray hair. . . . A recently discovered inscription in the Tower is a relic of her imprisonment: "In the year 1565, was the Hon. Countess of Lennox' Grace committed prisoner to this lodging for the marege of her sonne, my lord Henry Darnley to the Queen of Scotland. . . Here is there names that do wayte upon her noble grace in thys playse: Eliz. Husey: Hannah Bailey: Robarte Partyngton: Edwarde Griffyne."

should be exhumed and placed by his mother's side: but there is no proof that this was ever accomplished.

The rich high tomb of black marble and alabaster is built in two stages with obelisks, now broken, at the angles, and is decorated with Renaissance designs in copper gilt, all once richly painted. The alabaster effigy is placed too high to be readily seen, and shows a fine strong face, full lips, high arched brows and a beautiful jewelled robe and neck-band, with an ermine-lined mantle. The lady has a rich tasselled pillow and a low coronet, now broken: her feet once rested on a crowned lion. Alabaster figures of her four daughters, in rich robes and ruffs, kneel on the north side of the tomb: and four sons, two young, in armour, kneel on the south side after the manner of "weepers" on tombs of an earlier day, all the figures delicately wrought. That of Lord Darnley in armour, with a long cloak, if a portrait, is certainly unflattering: he was described* as "handsome, beardless and lady-faced, of whom no spirited woman would make choice." At the head of the line of figures he attracts much attention.

The most prominent tomb in this aisle, closely corresponding, as has been said,

*Melville's Memoirs.

to that of Elizabeth in the north aisle, is that of the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots, beheaded at Fotheringay in 1587, whose story is too well known to demand repetition. She was twenty years old when her royal mother died: her father, James V, was the son of Margaret, daughter of Henry VII, through whom she made her claim to the throne of England. After Queen Elizabeth had signed the warrant for her execution, King James, Mary's son, ordered it to be reported to Elizabeth* "how unjust he held that proceeding against his mother and that it did neither agree with the will of God, who prohibited to touch his anointed ones: nor with the law of nations that an absolute princess should be sentenced and judged by subjects: that if she would be the first to give that pernicious example of profaning her own and other princes' diadems, she should remember that both in nature and in honour it concerned him to be revenged of so great an indignity: which if he should not do, he should peril his credit both at home and abroad."

"But," continues Harris, "these threats were not regarded by Elizabeth nor of any service to his mother. . . . Indeed, Elizabeth and her ministers managed James

*Harris' Life of King James.

South Aisle of Henry VII's Chapel

as they pleased, they fully understanding his temper, councils and designs. . . . For the fear of losing the succession to the English crown and the pension he enjoyed from Elizabeth made him in all things obedient to her will."

Six months after her execution at Fotheringay, Mary's body was carried, in state, to Peterborough cathedral and buried with royal honours. In 1612, her son, James VI, having been nine years on the English throne, caused her body to be again removed, and assigned it a place of high honour in this aisle. A copy of the King's letter directing the re-burial is placed near the tomb, in which he gives as his reason for the removal, "that the like honour might be done to the body of his dearest mother and the like monument be extant of her that had been done to others and to his dear sister, the late Queene." The same artists were employed for both tombs.

The tomb of Queen Mary is a lofty structure of black and white marble ornamented with gilt designs, having a black marble sarcophagus on which rests the well-wrought effigy of white marble. Eight columns, four of black and four of white marble, support the high canopy: there are gilt angels in the spandrils and

a Latin inscription on the north and south sides. At the east end, above the cornice, is a Latin text from 1 Peter, 2: 22.

The white marble effigy, which is not effectively seen, is probably a portrait of the Queen, and represents a delicate, pleasant long oval face of middle age, with high forehead and traces of the beauty so generally attributed to her but so seldom evident in portraits: long delicate hands, in prayer, but now wantonly broken: a rich robe and laced ruff: the mantle, with ermine collar thrown back, displays lining and border of ermine and a rich long cord with heavy tassels depends from the shoulders. She wears the close pointed cap which has received her name: the head rests on embroidered cushions and the feet on a Scottish lion crowned. The inner side of the canopy is studded with gilt rosettes and the Royal Arms crown the lofty structure which rises nearly to the ceiling. The cost of the monument was £2000. To this tomb many resorted, especially devout Scots, as to the shrine of a martyr and the bones were said to be "resplendent with miracles." A fine iron railing having high standards bearing crests, once surrounded this tomb.

The Stuart Vault, in which the first burial was that of the Scotch queen, opened

to receive many of her family and descendants. Those here buried are intimately associated with her grandson, Charles I. The body of this unfortunate king, executed at Whitehall in 1649, was denied burial in the Abbey lest crowds should inconveniently gather here, as at the shrine of a martyr, and it was taken to St. George's chapel, Windsor. After the Restoration, Parliament granted £70,000 for its removal to the Abbey and Wren designed a monument: but the removal was never accomplished and Charles II is said to have spent the money on himself.

Of Charles I's family there are buried in this vault:

1. His oldest brother, Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, whose succession was anticipated with great pleasure by the Puritan party, to which he inclined. He had already shown much promise of being a blessing to his country, and his death of fever when he was a lad of eighteen, was a great disappointment to the nation. He is described as a tall young man with auburn hair, a gracious smile and a terrible frown and was said to resemble Henry V in feature and in his martial tastes. He owed much to his severe and painstaking early guardian, the Countess of Mar

and to Sir Adam Newton, his tutor and secretary, a wise and learned man. He died in the midst of happy preparations for the marriage of his beloved sister, Elizabeth of Bohemia: "So we are all turned into black and exceedingly mournful," wrote a court lady. The brother and sister were attached with great tenderness. She was not permitted to visit him in his last illness, for fear of contagion, though he constantly called for "my dear sister." In despair, she disguised herself as a page and tried to force an entrance but was discovered and restrained.

A magnificent funeral was arranged for the young prince. The effigy was dressed in his robes of investiture as the Prince of Wales: the procession was four hours in preparing to leave the palace and numbered two thousand persons. Nine banners went before the funeral car, and two trumpeters, "sounding wofully," preceded each banner.

2. The eldest sister of Charles I and the Prince of Wales, Elizabeth of Bohemia (d. 1662), queen of Frederick, the "Winter King." The gay and brilliant queen was an able, clear-headed and loyal Stuart. Born at Falkland Palace, she was only six years old when her father,

James I, came to the English throne, and her mother, Anne of Denmark, set out with her children for London. For a time, the little princess had her residence at Combe Abbey, the present seat of the Earl of Craven. Among the many royal suitors for her hand when she came of age to marry was the Roman Catholic king of Spain, but her father would not permit her to change her religion. She was then betrothed to Frederick, Count Palatine of the Rhine, and in September of 1612 he came over with his fleet and was cordially received. The death of her favourite elder brother, Prince Henry, caused the postponement of the marriage until the following year: and when she left England, her affectionate brother Charles went with her so far as Canterbury, where they parted with sorrow and never met again. She was much beloved by her husband and children, and her loving heart and winning manners endeared her in her adopted country, where she was called "The Queen of Hearts." Distress and anxiety were her portion for many years, and when at length the joyful news came of the Treaty of Westphalia, by which the long exiled Palatine family were restored to a part of their estates, the distressful tidings of the execution of her brother,

Charles I, destroyed all her pleasure. She could never forget the tragedy of the brother who had been dear to her, with whom as a child she had played in their early home in Scotland before the English throne called them away.*

After the fall of the English monarchy, and the loss of her English pension, she lived in great poverty at The Hague, often in deep distress for the actual necessities of life, and her creditors would not permit her to leave. Here she often received her exiled nephews, Charles and James. Here she openly reviled Cromwell and said he must be the beast in the Revelation "that all the kings and nations do worship," and wished him "a like end and that speedily." "I do often look upon her with wonder," wrote Dinelly to Sir T. Roe, in 1635, "when I see how inflexible she is to the blows of time and conclude that she hath an antidote in her heart against all the poison of her enemies."

She died while on a visit to her native England, which she had not seen for many years, going over to congratulate her

*A lock of her brother's hair brought over to her by a faithful servant, she had set in a mourning ring with the device of a crown over a skull and cross bones and the letters CR: and this she wore to the day of her death: also a miniature of Charles set in gold studded with diamonds.

nephew, Charles II, on his restoration to the throne. She waited in vain for some mark of favour from Charles, and died at the house of Lord Craven in Leicester Square. The remorseful king ordered a splendid funeral (which neither he nor his brother James attended) and general mourning. A rich pall of purple velvet covered the coffin, which was brought by water at midnight to the Abbey, with a procession of lighted barges draped in black, in the midst of a terrible thunderstorm. A crown was borne on a cushion before her and both Houses of Parliament were in attendance at the final ceremonies. The chief mourner was her brave and gallant son, Prince Rupert, who had so materially aided Charles I in the Civil War.

3. Anne Hyde, a daughter-in-law of Charles I (d. 1671) sleeps in this vault, daughter of the famous Earl of Clarendon, and the first wife of James II. A bright, attractive and accomplished girl, she was married to James while he was Duke of York, and died before his accession to the throne: hence she was never a queen, though two of her daughters, Mary II and Anne, reigned in their own right. She had been Lady-in-waiting to the Lady Mary, Princess of Orange, and

was well known and beloved at Court. In Paris, the second son of Charles I met and fell in love with the charming girl and they were privately married. James wrote to his mother that besides beauty of person, she had all the qualities proper to inflame a heart less apt to take fire than his. She had literary tastes and some of her father's literary ability and wrote a memoir of the Princess of Orange. The Queen long refused to acknowledge her as the wife of her son, but Elizabeth of Bohemia called her her "dear Nan Hyde," and was very fond of her. James was very desirous to gain his mother's forgiveness, but she refused even to notice him when he came into the room. At the death of the Princess of Orange, however, she yielded and forgave him: and two days later received the Lady Anne publicly and treated her most kindly. It is said that Anne became a convert to the Roman faith on her deathbed and that her husband, long undecided in the matter of religion, followed her example. She had been sleeping in this vault for fourteen years, with several of her infant children, when James became king.

4. Buried in this vault were the eldest son of Charles I, prematurely born, who died within an hour of his baptism,

over the honour of which ceremony the Anglican and Roman Catholic clergy of the father and the mother respectively sharply contended: also (5) Charles I's third daughter, the Princess Anne, four years of age, who died in 1640. She was naturally thoughtful and religious, and in her illness, on being directed ' y those with her to pray, "I am not able," she said, "to say my long prayer (the Lord's Prayer), but I will say my short one: 'Lighten mine eyes, O Lord, lest I sleep the sleep of death.' This done, the little one gave up the ghost."*

6. The youngest son of Charles I. is buried here, Prince Henry, Duke of Gloucester (d. 1660, at the age of twenty), a brave, handsome youth of firm principles, quick wit and vigorous intellect, perhaps resembling his royal father in many respects, and undoubtedly superior to both of his brothers, Charles II and James II. He was but a few months old when his mother was forced to leave her children: and the prince and his sister Elizabeth, who were closely linked in age and in life, were brought up in England under Puritan guidance.

The two were permitted to visit their father the day before his execution, the

*Fuller.

boy being then but eight years of age. The King took the boy in his arms and said: "Sweetheart, now they will cut off thy father's head: but pay attention to what I say. After I am gone they may wish to make thee king but remember never to wear the crown while thy older brothers live."

"No," said the child, "they shall tear me in pieces first." And he kept his promise. He was at this time too young to realize the sorrows which pierced the heart of his older sister, the Princess Elizabeth. The two were sent to Carisbrook Castle, where the princess died. The prince was loyal and amiable and gained friends wherever he went. At fourteen, he was permitted to go to France to be again with his mother, but her urgent desire to win him to the Roman Catholic religion and have him trained for a cardinal caused their separation. The boy protested that he had promised his father that he would never leave the Church of England: he finally appealed to his brother Charles and was sent to Holland to his sister and aunt. Here, though young, he gained some honour in fighting with the Spanish army against Cromwell. When his brother, Charles II, was restored to his throne, Prince Henry returned to England and

died that same year. The whole nation mourned for him. He was buried privately at midnight, the body being brought down from Somerset House on a lighted barge. Pepys wrote that the mirth and entertainments of that time (the Restoration being gayly celebrated in London) raised his blood so high that he fell a victim to the epidemic: and Fuller says that nothing had ever so deeply grieved the heartless brother Charles II as the death of Prince Henry.

7. Here also is buried Mary, eldest daughter of Charles I (d. 1660), wife of William, Prince of Orange. Early in the history of the troubles of Charles I, his queen took this little princess to Holland and in due time the marriage to William, Prince of Orange, previously arranged, took place. The Prince died soon, and Mary spent her widowhood in the House in the Wood at The Hague and here she wisely brought up her infant son, who became William III of Orange, king of England. During the Civil War in England, so long as her husband lived, the Princess was able to offer refuge to her afflicted family: but afterwards she was not permitted to extend these courtesies. She came over to her native land at the Restoration, and there died of the same

epidemic which had destroyed her young brother.

8. Charles I's nephew, the famous soldier, Prince Rupert (d. 1682), son of Elizabeth of Bohemia. He was the second and the favourite son of Elizabeth, who fondly called him Robert le Diable because of his impetuosity and daring and was constantly anxious about him. He was but seventeen when she sent him over to the care of her brother, Charles I. Here his wild blood continued to assert itself, and though a mere lad he concocted a scheme for taking a merchant squadron to colonize Madagascar of which he was to be the governor: but a letter from his mother brought him to his senses and the King sent him home with a pension of 800 crowns and "permission to travel incognito through the world if he pleased."

The Prince was in captivity in Germany for three years, returning home in 1641, "lean and weary:" went over with his brother Maurice to assist his uncle in the Civil War and fought bravely, though at one time cashiered and disgraced by his unconditional surrender of Bristol. He was made Admiral of the royal fleet of England, and at the Restoration held a distinguished place in the court of his cousin; was Privy Councillor and was interested in

scientific pursuits. He died in embarrassed circumstances and was buried in this vault without pomp or ceremony. And (9) an unfortunate cousin of Charles, the Lady Arabella Stuart (d. 1615), a representative of the elder branch of the Tudor family through her father, Charles Lennox, also rests here. She was an object of suspicion and dread to Elizabeth and to James I, as a possible claimant of the Crown. After many alternations of good and bad fortune, she sealed her fate by marrying, without the consent of the King (which she could never have gained), William Seymour, son of Catherine Grey and Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, a representative of the younger branch of the Tudor family, thus rendering herself doubly dangerous in the King's sight.

The pair were at once separated and imprisoned: made their escape but through some inadvertence they did not meet. Seymour reached France but the poor wife was imprisoned, not permitted to see the letters her husband wrote her (he was twenty, she thirty-five), lost her reason, and after four years of solitary, heart-breaking confinement, she died. Being out of the king's favour she was buried without ceremony. "In the dead of night, the daughter of a line of kings was

carried from the Tower along the black river, poorly coffined, and laid with little solemnity in the vault of her royal aunt, Mary Queen of Scots. . . . The burial service was read as if by stealth over some felon's grave, not for any fault of her own but because to have a great funeral for one dying out of the king's favour would have reflected on the king's honour."*

Ten of Charles I's grandchildren, sons and daughters of James II by his two wives, Anne Hyde and Mary of Modena, all dying in infancy, are buried in this Stuart vault; and eighteen children of Queen Anne, grandchildren of Charles I, only one of whom survived infancy, rest here. The son who lived, William of Gloucester, died in 1700 at the age of eleven and is said to have been an interesting and attractive child but never of robust health. Until his third or fourth year he could not walk alone up and down stairs, yet doubtless he might have lived but for the overexertion of his brain in study insisted on by his strenuous tutor, Bishop Burnet. He died a few days after a happy birthday spent in reviewing his little regiment of boys and playing at his favourite game of soldiers, firing a salute

*Keepe.

on all of his toy guns. One chronicler says that his illness was caused by over-exertion in dancing. The Queen is said to have regarded his death as a judgment upon her for her treatment of her brother, the Prince of Wales, called The Pretender.

This Stuart Vault, as seen by Stanley, is built of brick and is six feet high, seven feet wide and twelve and one-half feet long. It is entered by a wide flight of stone steps. Stanley found it full of coffins piled high upon each other, large and small, and that of Mary, large and stately, and saturated with pitch.

Lady Margaret Beaufort, the mother of Henry VII, Countess of Richmond and Derby, died in 1509, aet. sixty-six, and her name, like her tomb, is one of the most justly famous in the entire Abbey. Had she lacked merit, the beautiful tomb provided by her son, the King, would be sufficient to ensure her remembrance. All contemporary writers agree in extolling her piety, her domestic virtues, her wide and discreet charities and her love for and encouragement of learning.

She was the daughter of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, the grandson of John of Gaunt: hence she was the great-granddaughter of Edward III and

through this remote connection Henry VII founded one of his claims to the crown. Margaret was early married "as having lykelyhode of enheretance." The tradition is that when she was but nine years of age, she was doubtful in her mind whom she should select, many suitors having sought her, and asked advice of an old gentlewoman whom she loved and trusted, her mother having died early. She was advised to commend herself to St. Nicholas, "the Patron and helper of all true maydens and to beseche him to put in her mynde what she were best to do. This counsayle she followed, specyally that nyghte when she sholde, on the morrowe after, make answere of her mynde determynately . . . and a marvelous thing happened, as I have herde her tell many a tyme: as she lay in prayer calling upon St. Nicholas . . . about 4 of the cloke, in the mornynge one appeared unto her arrayed like a Bishop and naming unto her *Edmonde,* bad take hyme unto her Husbande. And so by this means, she dyd encline unto Edmonde, the King's Broder and Earl of Rychemonde."

So she wedded this Earl, Edmund Tudor, son of Queen Katherine of Valois (who, as has been said, after the death of her husband, King Henry V, had married

LADY MARGARET BEAUFORT

From Wright's engraving of a painting owned by the Earl of Derby.

Owen Tudor, a Welsh soldier, squire of her household), from whom the Tudor kings bear their name. Her son, Henry VII, was born at Pembroke Castle, June 25, 1456, and her husband died when the boy was only five months old, leaving her to rear and protect him. Later, she married Sir Henry Stafford, son of the Duke of Buckingham, a staunch Lancastrian, who died after twenty-two years: her third husband was Lord Stanley, who became Earl of Derby, and her tomb bears the heraldic emblems of this house, but she was faithful to the memory of her youthful husband and liked to be called Margaret Richmond.

Edward IV on his deathbed had confided his oldest daughter, Elizabeth, to Lord Stanley's care and she was received into his household. "Thus the way was paved for her marriage with Stanley's step-son, Henry of Richmond," who became Henry VII. The betrothal of the two is said to have been arranged by their respective mothers.

The Lady Margaret lived on after the death of her third husband in 1504, and had the great sorrow of witnessing the death of Henry VII, her only child, in April, 1509. For a time after this she seems to have had some sort of oversight

of her young grandson, Henry VIII, but as he was then nineteen, probably she had no intimate care of him. However, she drew up a list of such persons as were most esteemed and honoured by the late king and from these she selected some whom she desired to have serve as counsellors to the young king.

Her interest in the New Learning was intense and in every possible way she strove to foster it. She was one of the chief and early supporters of Caxton, whose press, the first in England, was set up in the Almonry at Westminster: and of Wynken de Worde, who printed several books at her desire: and in the year of her death, the latter styled himself, in one of his books, "Printer unto the most excellent Princess, my lady, the kyng's Grandame." Her writings included a translation from the French of a book of devotions called "The Mirroure of Golde for the Sinful Soule," divided into seven chapters, one for each day of the week: also she had translated from the French a part of "The Imitation of Christ."

Her education, in an age when writing was considered an unusual accomplishment for a woman, was remarkably broad and thorough. "A ready wit she had to conceive all things, albeit they were right

dark. Right studious she was in books, which she had in great number, both in English and in Frenshe."* Yet she was by no means neglectful of her household, for she personally encouraged and commended her servants, and her entire establishment was rede (cleaned) four times each year.

She is best remembered today by her noble foundations at Oxford and Cambridge Universities. At the latter she refounded St. John's College, provided it with liberal endowments and manifested her sincere interest in the establishment by frequent visits, having rooms reserved in the master's house. Her portrait in the habit of a nun may be seen here today and at her death she left to this college a library of Latin, French and English books, large for that time. She also founded Christ College, Cambridge, and established two professorships of divinity, one at Cambridge and one at Oxford, known today as the Lady Margaret professorships. Her benefactions were wisely directed by her chaplain, Cardinal Fisher, away from Westminster and other monasteries which she would have enriched, but which he saw clearly could not long survive, towards these collegiate

*Cardinal Fisher, her chaplain.

institutions which he also clearly foresaw would be of great usefulness in the world.*

In devotion to the church and its services she was scarcely exceeded by the Confessor. Her chaplain testifies that she rose soon after five and engaged in prayer: that she daily heard four or five masses: "and after dinner full truly she would go her stations at three altars daily: daily her dirges and commendacions she would say, and her even songs before supper . . . she had shirts and girdles of hair which she wore on certain days of each week." She was admitted to a participation in the prayers of many religious houses, according to the custom of the time towards benefactors, notably those of Westminster, Durham, Wimborne, Deeping and Thorney, and both she and her mother were members of the fraternity of the monks of Croyland.

The beautiful Renaissance monument of bronze and marble was wrought by Torregiano by order of Henry VII, and is even more beautiful, though of less size,

*Among her lesser charities is the Lady Margaret Dole, as it is called, by which 40 poor women of Westminster still receive, every Saturday afternoon, 1½ lbs. of beef, a fourpenny loaf and two pence in money: this is sometimes called The Dean's Gift, and is a revival of an old monastic dole which Henry VII re-endowed for thirteen poor men and his mother added to it this provision for poor women.

than that of the King. The copper gilt effigy on the high marble tomb is one of the most artistic and beautiful objects in the Abbey. The table is of black marble, ornamented at the sides with rich metal wreaths, like those of the King's tomb, enclosing shields of arms and having rose sprays in the spandrils. The bronze effigy, evidently from life, represents the lady as in her last years, with furrowed face, hands upraised in prayer, the robes those of a nun, the head resting on two cushions which are incised with the rose, portcullis, pomegranate and *fleur-de-lis*. The feet rest on a crowned antelope but the crown has long since disappeared.

The very delicate hands are famous for their beauty and were evidently cast from life. Though old and withered, they are small, with graceful curves, delicate wrists and almond-shaped nails. Undoubtedly they were dainty and beautiful in life: for the lady writes of certain French gloves sent for her use, that they are "too much for her hand," and that the French ladies, no doubt, "be great ladies altogether, not only for their estates but in their persons."

The recumbent, crocketted bronze canopy over the head is an exquisite piece of work, supported by richly-wrought, tra-

ceried pillars having emblems at the base, and tracery of purely Gothic design. This part of the tomb resembles those of Edward III and Philippa, in the Confessor's chapel. At the head of the buttresses is a curious, enriched moulding like a succession of coins or discs, of pure Italian Renaissance character. The inscription on the verge of the tomb was written by Erasmus, but contains nothing of note beyond the facts of the lady's life and death.

Lady Walpole (Catherine Shorter, d. 1737), mother of the famous Horace and wife of the well-known Whig minister, celebrated for her beauty, has a monument here, erected by her son, who was much disturbed at having to pay £40 for the site. The statue which forms the important part of the monument is of life size, was copied from Valori's statue of Modestia in Rome and is of fine and delicate workmanship. The lengthy inscription which describes the lady as having "beauty and wit without vice or vanity, an ornament to courts, untainted by them," is also from the son's hand. The tall, slender figure is graceful and well wrought, especially the hands and the beautiful scroll-like foliage ornament.

General George Monk, Duke of Albe-

marle (d. 1670), the principal instrument in bringing about the restoration of Charles II to the throne, "the stoutest and most valiant hero of the age," has a great tomb on the south wall, erected over forty years after his death: but he is buried in the north aisle of this chapel. He is represented, according to the custom of the period, not by a large effigy but by a small portrait medallion which shows him in Roman armour, surrounded by naval trophies, while a large rostral column furnishes support for a male figure in rich robes and a female figure leans sorrowfully on the medallion. Monuments of this character are numerous in the nave and transepts. The coronet at the top of the column refers to the title granted this general by his grateful sovereign. Monk had been first a Royalist "courageous, cunning and selfish," says Burnet: and Fairfax was so well assured of his merit that he determined "that he should never have an opportunity of exercising his courage again in the royal cause," and shut him up in the Tower for four years. On his release, he attached himself to the Parliamentary party, but would not move against the King.

He was not careful to preserve his physical strength, and when his health

began to fail* "though his Grace was very well pleased with the reasons and discourse of physicians, yet, through an uninterrupted health he had a kind of Averseness to Medecines and Methods of Physick." His only remaining care, when he found himself near death, was to see his son safely married to the lady of his choice. The wedding took place in the Duke's chamber, himself giving the bride to his son, after which he took no further interest in the affairs of the world. He died like a Roman soldier, sitting upright in his chair with his officers about him, and Bishop Seth Ward of Salisbury, who was in prayer with him to the last, closed his eyes, and later preached his funeral sermon.

The King, who had for him a very singular and natural esteem, arranged a stately funeral at his own charge and assigned him a tomb in Henry VII's chapel, "that the great Instaurator and Guardian of Monarchy might rest himself near the crowned heads and mix his loyal dust with the ashes of former kings." The body lay in state at Somerset House. By the King's command, forty gentlemen of good family stood as mutes in the velvet-draped chamber, with their faces to the wall,

*Skinner.

twenty serving each alternate day. The streets between Somerset House and the Abbey were gravelled and on either side stood the Red and Blue Regiments of the Trained Bands of Middlesex. The effigy, richly dressed in crimson velvet, lay on a black velvet pall, eight yards in length. The magnificent procession, in which the King walked as chief mourner, was little less than royal: bishops, earls, baronets and knights walking: the mourning horse, in black velvet trappings, led by four nobles: the effigy borne in an open chariot drawn by six horses. King Charles himself had no such stately funeral. At the Abbey the effigy was placed under the lantern at the crossing, the hearse standing fourteen feet by eleven feet, having four lofty pillars at the angles, twenty feet high, the capitals of which were formed by the crest and supporters of the Duke and inscribed with his two mottoes, *"Fortiter, fideliter, feliciter,"* and *"A Cunctando Restituit."*

Monk had married Ann Clarges, daughter of a blacksmith and of a washerwoman, with whom he fell in love when she brought him his laundry during his imprisonment in the Tower. She was a forceful woman of whom her husband is said to have stood in some fear, an ardent

Royalist, and said to have had a considerable hand in the Restoration. "She could never lose the manners of her early life and often had violent fits of anger"; as Duchess of Albemarle, she held an important and influential position and was accused of taking bribes of £500 for state positions. The State Poems refer to her as the Monkey Princess and Pepys tells us "My Lady Monk hath disposed of all the places which Mr. Edward Montagu hoped to have had." She died in the interval between her husband's death and burial and was buried in the same vault with him.

A large bronze medallion portrait of Henry VII on the wall near this monument, presented by Dean Armitage Robinson, represents the king as an aged man (he was forty-seven when he died), with deeply furrowed face and withered neck.

A second bronze portrait medallion on this wall is probably that of Sir Thomas Lovell (d. 1524), Speaker of the House of Commons, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Chancellor of Oxford and Cambridge: it was formerly on the railings of Lady Margaret's tomb. Sir Thomas was executor to the Lady Margaret and also to Henry VII. The portrait probably by Torregiano is enclosed in

a frame which represents the Garter with its motto, *Honi soit qui mal y pense.* The modern outer frame is decorated with Tudor roses.* The Gatehouse of Lincoln's Inn in Chancery Lane, an ornamental feature of the street, was built by Sir Thomas Lovell in 1518.

The Eastern end of the aisle is of peculiar interest because here were buried two kings, two queens and a prince consort. The glory of reigning over England, with all its splendours and all its anxieties was theirs: but they passed out of life and after the stately funerals had gone into a memory and then into a page of history, no monument, not even an inscribed stone, seems ever to have been suggested by a grateful friend or a sorrowing nation. The same fate, however, befell those French kings who died after 1610, deposited in the royal vault of St. Denis without monument. By the pious care of Dean Stanley, more than a century after the latest of these five royalties had been laid here, the paving stones over their graves were marked with their names. Before his time, few of the thousands who went in and out of the chapel's beautiful aisle

*Mr. Theodore Andrea Cook, in an article in The Monthly Review for 1903, says that there is good reason for believing that this medallion is the work of Torregiano.

could have told you where slept the profligate Charles II, the good William and Mary and Queen Anne with her Danish consort.

An altar once stood at the east end of this chapel and its step or platform still remains. Beneath it, in the Royal Vault, as it is called, was buried Charles II (d. 1685, aet. fifty-four), the "Merry Monarch," son of the unfortunate Charles I, the story of whose life is very well known. He was born in St. James Palace, the oldest son of the king and queen who lived to manhood, and it is said that his handsome French mother, Henrietta Maria, was much ashamed of her plain little infant, "quite a fright" she thought him. Unfortunate in being exiled from England as a youth, he spent eighteen years in various parts of the Continent, having little restraint placed upon his life: and all his pleasure-loving instincts were fostered by those who had no interest except that of pleasing him, and no object in developing the best traits of his character.

Returning to England in 1660, a few days before his thirtieth birthday, to resume the throne after the fall of the Protectorate, with natural abilities said to be far greater than those of his father* he

*Gardiner.

might have made a splendid name for himself and for England. "He believed in nothing and in nobody but himself."* Having no faith, he had no real object except the passive one of securing his own freedom of action or inaction and carrying on the government of England as pleasantly and with as little turmoil as possible. "He lived without God, and the un-Godlike, in the full sense of the term, became the distinguishing stamp of his reign."

Charles was seized with apoplexy while engaged in controversy with Papists and Anglicans, both of whom wished to claim him, and in trying to propitiate the Duchess of Portsmouth and the Duke of York. His last hours were made wretched by the opposing factions, who sought his adherence to their faith. The last sacrament was administered by Huddlestone, the priest who had so generously assisted the king in his flight from Worcester.† A post-mortem is said to have revealed strong indications of poison. The Duke of York is said to have sent Huddlestone at the last to try to rouse the King's conscience but there was no response. No great care was bestowed on the King's

*Sandford's Genealogical History of the Kings of England.

†Wall, in The Tombs of the Kings of England.

body, and it was buried with little ceremony. Evelyn wrote that he was "soon forgotten after all his vanity, and the face of the whole Court was exceedingly changed into a more solemn and moral behaviour." There was no lying in state. The only concession to the King's love of splendour was the wax effigy prepared for the funeral, which was magnificently dressed in scarlet velvet coronation robes, having a collar and ruffles of point lace. In Dart's time (1723) the effigy was still standing above the vault, set in a wainscot case: and this same effigy, with its lace ruffles and velvet robe, a forceful-looking figure, may still be seen in the collection of wax effigies preserved in the Islip Chapel. The vault was new at this time and this was the first burial,*

Two sisters, Queens Mary and Anne, daughters of James II, nieces of Charles I, rest in this vault, almost side by side. Queen Mary came to the throne in 1689, the lawful heir of her unfortunate father, James II, who had been deposed, her husband, William of Orange, having been

*Macaulay assures us that the mourning for the King was almost universal. Tears were seen in many eyes and it was remarked that there was scarcely a housemaid in London who had not contrived to procure some fragment of black crape in honour of the dead king. Bishop Burnet compared him to Tiberius, even in his looks.

invited by seven English noblemen to come to England in order to preserve "the laws and liberties of the nation." She was own cousin to her husband, since he was the son of Charles I's daughter, the Princess Mary, who had married William, Prince of Orange, while Mary, as has been said, was the daughter of Charles I's son, James II.

This queen's name is an honoured one, and she was beloved by her people for her affectionate heart, her sweet temper and her winning manner: and admired and respected for her noble charities and blameless life. A handsome woman of stately appearance (as her wax effigy shows), she towered above her short husband and was of far more royal aspect than he, but not of more noble character.

When Bishop Burnet, her very good friend, conveyed to Mary her husband's unhappy conviction, that, if she came to the English throne, he would not have share in her power, the Queen gave instant proof of her life-long attachment to the Prince by sending for him and assuring him that he should always rule. "I ask only that, as I shall observe the precept which enjoins wives to obey their husbands you will observe that which enjoins husbands to love their wives." Macau-

lay says that this proof of her affection so completely won his heart that "from that time till the sad day when he was carried away in fits from her dying bed, there was entire friendship and confidence between them. Many of his letters to her are extant and contain abundant evidence that this man, unamiable as he was in the eyes of the multitude, had succeeded in inspiring a beautiful and virtuous woman with a passion fond even to idolatry."

The coronation of Mary, whose title was Mary II, was marked by several unusual features. She was only the third queen-regent of England, and the crown was placed on her head, not as she knelt to receive it, but as she sat in the coronation chair which she had caused to be made for the ceremony, the original St. Edward's chair being occupied by her husband.

The Queen died in 1694 of pestilence, after reigning only six years, at the age of thirty-two. Her husband's thoughtfulness never failed even in the last distressful hour. When she learned the nature of her dreadful malady, she at once dismissed from Kensington House all the ladies of her bedchamber, the maids of honour and all servants who had never suffered from the disease, locked herself

in her room alone, burned some of her papers and calmly made arrangements for the end. The King, however, absolutely refused to leave her and had his little camp-cot placed in an ante-room, though he scarcely lay down upon it. "The sight of his misery," wrote the Dutch envoy, "was enough to melt the hardest heart. Nothing seemed to be left of the man whose serene fortitude had been the wonder of old soldiers. The very domestics saw the tears running unchecked down that face the stern composure of which had seldom been disturbed by any triumph or any defeat."

Queen Mary died at peace with her sister Anne. Her body was placed in a rich coffin of purple and gold. Two hundred pounds of perfume were used in the embalming. Parliament was not, as customary at the death of a sovereign, dissolved at her death, because a sovereign still sat on the throne: but the two Houses attended the funeral, the Lords in robes of scarlet and ermine and the Commons in mourning cloaks. A rich wax effigy (still to be seen in the Islip Chapel) was dressed in royal robes, an exact copy of her own, holding the orb and sceptre and rested on the coffin. The nave, choir and transept of the Abbey were brilliantly

lighted with wax candles, and throughout the ceremony the solemn, distant booming of cannon was heard every minute from the batteries of the Tower: while throughout London and England bells were tolled in all the churches during the entire day of the funeral.

The hearse, made by Wren, was the last used for an English sovereign. King William was desirous of honouring his queen's memory in every possible way, but the fashion of monuments had apparently gone out with Elizabeth, and none was erected to Mary's memory. But William carried out the long-cherished wish of the queen in transforming the Palace at Greenwich into a Home for Disabled Seamen, and a fine building was erected after Wren's design, in memory of this thoughtful sovereign. The hearse with its effigy long stood above her grave.*

William III continued to reign for eight years after the death of his queen, and died in 1702, at the age of fifty-two from the effects of a fall while riding

*An old ballad of that day ("The Westminster," published at the Sign of the Looking-Glass, London Bridge, 1695) records that a Robin Redbreast, often came and perched, day and night, on the top pinnacle of the hearse and was often heard to sing "a note soft, sweet and small," which the astrologers took to be a portent that the church should never be destroyed "though good Queen Mary died."

horseback. In him England lost one of her wisest, most deserving, though not the most popular of sovereigns, and an ardent patriot. He owed much to the early training of his grandmother, the Princess Amelia, a woman of superior endowments, who cared for the child after he was bereft of both parents. "By her example and precepts he acquired a force of mind that afterwards rendered him one of the most distinguished princes of Europe."* In person he was neither tall nor imposing: he was of feeble frame, slender, pale and "had never been young": but his eye is said to have rivalled that of an eagle in brightness and keenness.

His state funeral was not magnificent, though the body lay in state and the pall was borne by six dukes. A monument was ordered by Parliament but never completed. A rich wax effigy, doubtless a faithful portrait of the faithful king, still stands by the side of that of his stately wife. A statue of this king was presented to Edward VII for the British Nation by the Emperor William, in 1907, and stands in St. James Square.

Queen Anne, who died in 1714, was the daughter of James II by Anne Hyde, his first wife, and was born before her father

*Layman's Life of Ken.

came to the throne. At nineteen, she married Prince George of Denmark, son of Frederick III, "a handsome fine gentleman," to whom she was devoted and to whom she bore eighteen children during the twenty-five years of their married life.

She was crowned in the Abbey in 1702, being at that time so afflicted with gout that she had to be carried from the Palace to the church. Lady Montague and her intimate friend, Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough (the "Mrs. Freeman" of their famous correspondence), assisted at the coronation, the latter as Lord Great Chamberlain. This queen's portrait is familiar through many reproductions. She had an amiable, handsome, round, rosy face, beautiful curling chestnut hair, exquisite hands and a voice so soft and sweet that her uncle, Charles II, caused her to be taught to speak by the famous actress, Mrs. Barry. She was a great lover of choice music and is gratefully remembered by students of history for having caused Rymer's *Foedera* to be published and she liberally pensioned the compiler.

The loss of her many children, and especially that of the Duke of Gloucester in his eleventh year, was a great and ever-present grief to the Queen. Her last years were also made bitter by the contentions

of her cabinet council. She had swooned and been carried from two of their sessions and told Dr. Arbuthnot that she could not possibly survive such another scene of wrangling and confusion. When the hour approached for a third session, she was found by her trusted attendant, Mrs. Danvers, in her room at Kensington Palace, standing before the clock, gazing intently upon it in the silent room. When asked if she saw anything unusual in the clock, "the Queen answered not, yet turned her eyes on the questioner with so woful and ghastly a regard" that the questioner protested that she saw death in the look.

She lived only a few days after this. The public mourning seems to have been unusually sincere. A magnificent funeral was arranged and a richly robed effigy, still to be seen in the Islip chapel, was borne in the procession, clad in rich coronation robes, with high crown, sceptre and orb. The expression of the round, almost childish, face is mournful.

Queen Anne was the last of the Stuart line to reign. Her deposed father, James II, had vainly hoped to regain the throne after the death of William of Orange: but Parliament had passed an Act making Anne the successor of her brother-in-law. Her Roman Catholic brother James,

known in history as The Pretender, assumed the title of James III on the death of William and entreated his sister to make him her successor: but England would not have a Roman Catholic sovereign on the throne and Anne refused. On her accession, the Electress Sophia, sister of James II, had been named as the next heir, and to her son George, Duke of Brunswick, the crown descended, and he became the founder of the present house of Hanover.*

Queen Anne's husband, Prince George of Denmark (d. 1708), was a placid, well-meaning prince, faithful and beloved, and

*The prince wrote most urgently to his sister Anne to second his just rights: "The voice of God and the nation calls you to it . . . if you will be guided by your own inclinations you will readily comply with so just and fair a proposal as to prefer your own brother, the last male of our name, to the electress of Hanover, the remotest relation we have . . . who will leave the government to foreigners of another language, of another interest." In distress Anne wrote begging him to change his religion and enter the Church of England. All would then be easy, she writes, "for a papist cannot enjoy this crown in peace." Though this decision against her brother was based upon high conscientious scruples on account of his religion, she is said to have regarded the death of her son, the Duke of Gloucester, the only one of her children who lived beyond infancy, as a judgment upon her for her treatment of her brother. And the memory of this decision deeply embittered the last moments of her life. In her delirium she constantly cried "Oh my brother, my dear brother, what will become of you."

if not forceful was free from vice, and meddled little with public affairs. The Earl of Dartmouth said that he was the most indolent of all mankind: and Anne's witty uncle, Charles II, declared that he had tried the prince drunk and sober and there was nothing in him. The Queen attended him with wifely devotion in his last hours, was deeply grieved by his death, which left her without family ties save her brother, and lived in close retirement for three months, often sitting for hours alone in the room where the prince had passed his leisure time in carpentry work. He was called the prince of one remark, by Leigh Hunt who says that he was no livelier a man than his father-in-law, James II: and when the latter told him of the successive desertions from his cause, the prince's comment was, *"Est il possible?"* When the Prince himself joined the deserters, James said, "Who do you think is gone now? Little *Est il possible* himself."

The vault in which these five were buried had been lost sight of for many years: but was accidentally discovered in 1867, by Dean Stanley, when water pipes were being laid in this aisle. He found the five velvet coffins, once rich, lying side by side, occupying the entire space of the

chamber, all the ornamental fittings of each, especially that of Queen Mary's coffin, being handsomely wrought and all the plates of copper gilt remaining except that of Charles II. No monument or record of these royal burials had ever been prepared: but the dean caused the names and dates to be inscribed on the small stones of the altar steps above the graves of these last sovereigns of the Stuart line.

CHAPTER XXII

THE CHAPELS OF THE NORTH AMBULATORY

"Let us now praise famous men and our fathers that begat us . . . their bodies are buried in peace, but their name liveth forevermore."

ST. PAUL'S is the eastmost of the radiating chapels surrounding the ambulatory on the north, and originally contained among its choice relics, a finger of the saint, together with the cloth in which his head was wrapped after his execution, and some of his blood, gifts of King Edgar and of the Confessor. Whoever heard mass at this altar had indulgence for two years and twenty days. The place of the original stone screen is now occupied by two monuments, that of Lord Robsart on the east and Pulteney on the west (v. p. 234). In general, the chapel is like that of St. Nicholas, correspondingly located in the south ambulatory. It is lighted by four lofty two-light windows.

The central object is a colossal white marble statue to James Watt (d. 1819), known as the "Improver of the Steam Engine," the statue with flowing draperies, seated on a lofty pedestal, having compasses and rolls of paper in hand. The face is good and thoughtful, the brows massive: the work is by Chantrey, who wrought six statues of Watt within twenty years, but the great marble is out of place in this small chapel.* Yet while it has been the butt of numerous jests, that which it represents, says Dean Stanley, "is equal to any that the Abbey walls have yet commemorated." When it was introduced into the chapel, the statue itself barely grazed its way through the door, but the pedestal, even when separated into three sections, was so heavy that the vault beneath gave way under the pressure.

Sir Rowland Hill (d. 1879), the originator of Penny Postage, is buried beneath the Watt monument and has a tablet and small bust at the left of the entrance to the chapel. The bust shows a genial face, fine forehead and wide open eyes. Sir Rowland is remembered as a kindly old man, one of a group of five manly brothers whose close affection and

*Mr. Bond cleverly says that it should be taken to the Embankment where it would be in scale with the Shot Tower and the Hotel Cecil.

dependence on each other continued down to old age, two surviving this the most famous brother. "He had done more than almost any other man to bring near those who are far off, to bind the nations together and to make the whole world kin."*

Sir Giles Daubeney (d. 1507), the friend and Lord Chamberlain of Henry VII, and his wife, Lady Elizabeth (d. 1500), have a large, rich double altar tomb of Purbeck, with alabaster effigies, in the midst of the chapel, enclosed by a railing, an excellent specimen of the costumes and monumental art of the period. Sir Giles wears mixed armour of chain and plate: Tudor roses of Henry VII on his belt and sword-scabbard: the collar of the Garter: on his left shoulder the red cross of St. George enclosed within a garter: gauntlets: and the garter on his left leg. The crest on his helmet is a curious representation of holly trees. Kneeling monks in mournful attitude and bearing rosaries appear in relief on the soles of his shoes. The lady wears a flowing mantle over her robes: a close, reticulated coif with border of flowers and jewels: flowing hair,

*It is said that he was led to think of cheap postage by seeing a young woman sobbing in distress near a post office because there was a letter from her mother within but she had not money to pay the postage.

rings on her fingers, and angels uphold her pillows. Twisted columns appear at the angles of the monument: and the Daubeney badge (dragons' wings joined with a knot) on the spikes of the iron railing.

A Renaissance tomb of marble on the west wall commemorates Sir John Puckering (d. 1596), his wife and their eight children. The children, in alabaster, are kneeling at an altar, and the two who died in infancy bear skulls. Sir John was Speaker of the House of Commons and the official purse appears, borne aloft by cherubs, at the back of the tomb, with the initial of the queen.

The tomb of Sir James Fullerton, First Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Charles I, and his wife, is at the west, the gentleman placed higher than his wife on account of his superior rank. The lady has a miniature of her husband depending from her belt.

Archbishop James Usher (d. 1658), a friend of Charles I whom he attended at Oxford: and also of Cromwell, is buried at the west of the chapel, his plain slab in the pavement contrasting with the rich tombs of other Royal favourites, but the life was an interesting one. The King had consulted him concerning the bill of

attainder against Strafford, and Usher warned him with tears in his eyes not to pass it. He was buried here by favour of Cromwell, by whom he was highly esteemed, and at his charge.

On the east is the tomb of Sir Thomas Bromley (d. 1587), Lord Chancellor to Queen Mary, a man of learning, who presided at the trial of Mary Queen of Scots at Fotheringay Castle and never recovered from the weight of responsibility in the matter, dying two months after. The high Elizabethan tomb has a canopy and effigy against the north wall. Note the alabaster effigy resting on a sarcophagus, in the rich robe of a Lord Chancellor, incised with conventional designs and polished by the rubbing of centuries: his crest, a sitting pheasant, at his feet: and Fame and Immortality in the spandrils of the arched canopy, each bearing a trumpet to which was attached a small banner (one is missing), inscribed with the letter B.

A towering monument, rising half as high as the chapel, is in memory of Francis, Lord Cottington (d. 1633) and his wife. He was Lord Treasurer to Charles I, and his alabaster effigy is reclining, the robes much buttoned and the staff of office at his side. The lady has a metal bust above the tomb, enclosed in a wreath,

the work of the famous sculptor, Hubert le Sœur. In place of the altar at the east there now stands a monument to Frances, Countess of Sussex (d. 1589), aunt to Sir Philip Sidney, and founder of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, in which Cromwell and Thomas Fuller were students.

The Little Chapel of St. Erasmus, the smallest in the Abbey, gives access to that of St. John the Baptist, one of the apsidal chapels. St. Erasmus, says the Golden Legend, "was come of noble and grete kynred and was not only gentyl by hys byrthe but also in dedys and condycions." He was chosen Bishop of Campagna, was cruelly tortured for his faith by the Emperor Diocletian, and put to death, after which he was "ledde through the heights of heaven into the uppermost place where he stondeth wyth God, wyth alle the holy compayne."

The chapel itself has an unusual history. There was originally a fifteenth century chantry or altar to this saint founded by Elizabeth Woodville, queen of Edward IV, within the Early English Lady chapel, perhaps to testify her gratitude for protection and shelter in the Abbey in the time of her distress. When this Lady chapel was pulled down, c. 1502, to make

room for the chapel of Henry VII, the altar and the image of the saint appear to have been removed here, perhaps by Abbot Islip.*

St. Erasmus chapel is built within the great pier or mass of masonry which stands between the westmost radiating chapel in the north ambulatory and the small, square Islip's chapel projecting from the east aisle of the north transept, and which corresponds to St. Benedict's in the south transept. There is a similar great pier near St. Benedict's, but it has never been cut out. This was probably fitted up to the honour of some saint in the time of Richard II and may have once formed a part of the Islip chapel to the west, since an opening in the masonry of the west wall would allow a person praying at the Islip altar to see the image of St. Erasmus.

The beautiful entrance door to St. Erasmus, in connection with the Perpendicular stone screen of Islip's adjoining chapel, forms a sculptured facade of much interest. The doorway is earlier than the foundation here of the St. Erasmus altar,

*Mr. Bond very reasonably infers that this may have been the site of the chapel of St. Mary the Little, to which belonged the beautiful central boss now remaining here portraying The Assumption of the Virgin.

and is of the fourteenth century design of Richard II's time, as the heraldry and architectural detail indicate. The low worn stone step effectively tells the story of many worshippers at the altars within. The square label over the door is stopped by demi-angels bearing, on the right, the cross and martlets of the Confessor's arms: and on the left the arms of old France (*fleur-de-lis semèe* instead of the later group of three), with the three lions of England. The small folding carved oak door has two high panels, with carved spandrils, and is protected by a plain iron grill having a double row of trident-shaped spikes at the top, as if to guard some precious treasure at the altar within. The upper part of the arch has also a metal grill.

A beautiful alabaster Niche of Perpendicular design seems to have been transferred here from elsewhere. It has a delicately wrought vault and its small canopy shows rich crockets and finials, is supported by buttresses and decorated with a row of small heads and roses. On either side is carved Abbot Islip's rebus, with which we soon become familiar in the chapel beyond, a large I and S, and a hand holding a slip or branch: but a different rebus appears on one side, a human eye

and a hand bearing a slip. These decorations are, of course, much later than the chapel within. Over the door is painted, in letters of Henry VII's time, *"Sanctus Erasmus."*

An iron bracket on the east side of the doorway, having staples remaining above and below, may have held a collecting box for offerings from pilgrims, as at St. Albans, and at Edward II's tomb in Gloucester cathedral, St. Erasmus being a martyr.

Within, the small chapel is found to consist of two parts, a vestibule and the chapel proper, each of one small bay, about five feet square. In the outer or vestibule bay, the walls are decorated with traceried panels and the beautiful lierne vault was once painted and studded with stars which may still be traced. The interesting central boss referred to above represents The Assumption of the Virgin, who appears in prayer, surrounded by cherubs issuing from the clouds and small bosses of roses. An opening in this vault, made by removing one of the stones, was probably intended as a place for a hanging lamp in honour of the image in the chapel beyond, since the stones of the vault are still discoloured by smoke. Small iron hooks which are dotted over the side walls may have been used for votive offerings by

those healed in prayer at this shrine. The Purbeck pavement is constructed of triangular stones, eight of which, in the midst, have been replaced by seemingly modern stones.

The chapel proper, the inner bay, is elevated by a step from the vestibule, and is considerably plainer than the first bay, having no panelling on its walls, and a simpler vault, but it may have had rich decorations in colour and gilt at some time. It is broader from west to east, and is at least a century later in style than the vestibule. A shallow niche on the north wall, facing the entrance, has a bracket below and traces of fastenings for a statue, probably of St. Erasmus, the outline of which may be traced on the wall, where are two hooks where the shoulders would be, and another for the nimbus from which long rays as of light are painted on the wall. The mouldings of the niche were painted red and gilt. On the left, at about the height of the springing of the arch, may still be traced a worn and defaced painting of a white hart, *couchant*, with large, spread antlers, the emblem of Richard II, the walls about it being powdered with golden *fleur-de-lis* on a blue ground.

A large opening in the east wall, resembling nothing so much as a buttery hatch,

looks into the vestibule at the west and St. John the Baptist's chapel at the east. When this little chapel was transformed to admit the altar of St. Erasmus* Abbot Islip seems to have taken down the north wall of the existing chapel of St. Mary the Little, which had been fitted up, we remember, in Richard II's time, and built beyond it a second bay or compartment, restoring to its original position on the north the niche for the image (of Mary?). And in order to make space for his new altar and yet leave undisturbed the original altar, he built a sort of bow window projecting into the chapel of St. John the Baptist, and in that fitted the table of his altar, which was supported at the ends by iron dowels. The credence was constructed in the wall of the vestibule. When Bishop Ruthall's monument was permitted to block up the entrance from the ambulatory to the chapel of St. John the Baptist, a doorway was arranged by removing this altar, and breaking down the bow window. The south side of the altar place or window still exists behind a monument and the mortices for the iron dowels remain in the walls to prove the theory.†

Thus St. John's chapel is now entered

*Micklethwaite.

†Michlethwaite in Archæologia: vol. 44.

by a round arched door in the east wall of St. Erasmus chapel, which occupies the recess fitted up by Islip for the altar of St. Erasmus when the latter was removed here from the Lady chapel at the east end of the church.

The Chapel of St. John the Baptist, the westmost of the radiating chapels on the north side, corresponds in location to St. Edmund's on the south. While less interesting than that as a mausoleum, few persons of renown or tombs of unusual interest being found here, yet it contains rather more of its original architectural features than any other of the radiating chapels.

The chapel was dedicated to this favourite saint of Christendom, and contained relics of himself, of his mother, St. Elizabeth, and of his father, Zacharias, the gift of King Edgar to the monastery: and since this king reigned 958-975, the relics must have belonged to the early days of the Abbey, long before the present church was erected and before the Confessor's time, but honourably preserved during the various rebuildings and changes, and carefully reinstalled when this chapel was completed. The altar at the east is now occupied by Lord Hundson's monument. Whoever heard mass at this altar had

indulgence for three years, one hundred and forty-five days.

The architectural features of the chapel are already familiar to us. The shape is that of the six sides of an octagon: there are two lofty traceried windows: the vaulting is of white chalk enlivened by a curious zig-zag pattern of dark free-stone and a good boss.

Important fragments of the beautiful wall arcade are seen on the left as you enter the chapel and other portions appear in the second arch beyond and also at the east, near the aumbry. Notice among the spandril carvings of the arcade some beautiful angels: a branch of foliage: two dogs devouring fruit: a man addressing an angel: and two doves. The beautiful colour of the old stones attracts the attention of all artists. The altar stood at the east where the large monument of Lord Hundson now stands, and there is a recess for a double aumbry with hinges. A good view of the north side of Henry V's chantry may be obtained from the west end of this chapel, of which full advantage should be taken: and also a view of the triforium of the choir and apse.

Only a few of the monuments are of importance. Those of Bishop George Fascet, of Bishop Ruthall and of Abbot

Milling have already been described with the tombs of the ambulatory. Abbot Richard Harweden (d. 1440) has a small slab in the pavement, at the foot of Ruthall's monument and is remembered as one of the Treasurers of Henry V's money for rebuilding the nave.

Robert Devereux (d. 1646), Earl of Essex and son of Elizabeth's favourite, rests in a vault near Ruthall's tomb, with only an inscription on the stone to his memory, and that provided by Dean Stanley's care. He had served King Charles I, but became one of the chief generals in Cromwell's army. His death occurred at a critical period in the fortunes of the Civil War. He was accorded a stately public funeral and the effigy on his rich hearse was attired in the buff coat, scarlet breeches and white boots which he had worn at the battle of Edgehill. His tomb seems to have been overlooked when other Parliamentary officers were disinterred.

An old altar tomb of Purbeck, in the north wall, brought here from elsewhere, is thought to be that of Sir Thomas Vaughan, a hero of the Wars of the Roses, beheaded in 1483. On the slab is the brass of a knight in plate armour, his hands joined in prayer. Sir Thomas was

Treasurer to Edward IV, and had fought in eighteen battles during the reign of Henry VI.

Col. Edward Popham, the celebrated Parliamentary general, has a large monument for himself and his wife on the north wall. His name was included in the royal warrant for the disinterment of all the magnates of the Commonwealth, but his body was taken to some family burial place and the tomb allowed to remain, probably on account of his wife's influence at Court. The colonel appears in plate armour, with a long belt, sword, helmet, gauntlets and long curling hair: his wife, the Lady Anne, daughter to William Carr, Groom of the Bedchamber to James I, has a pleasant face, thin lips, delicate hands and wears a long cypress veil depending from her head. The dark marble altar tomb bears the two alabaster effigies.

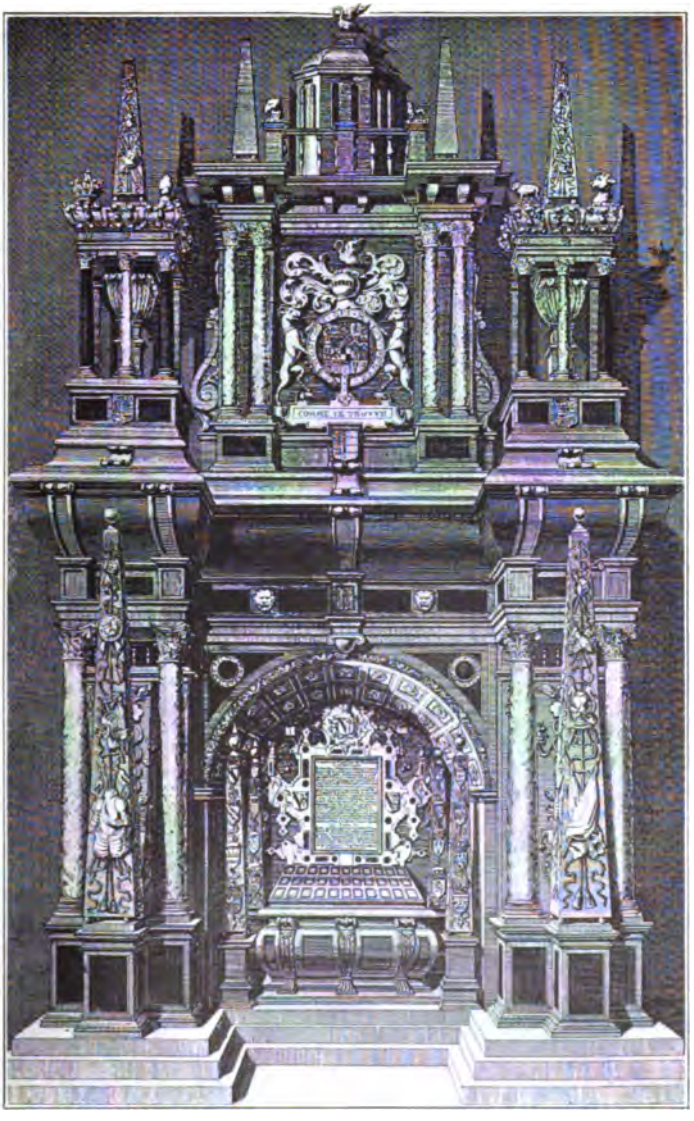
Henry Carey, Baron of Hunsdon (d. 1596), first cousin to Queen Elizabeth, and her rough but honest chamberlain, has probably the loftiest monument in the kingdom, against the east wall. It stands thirty-six feet in height, rising well up to the vaulting: is built of marble and alabaster having a sarcophagus of black and white marble in checker-board design, a dome once crowned by the Baron's crest

(a swan rising): and six gilt and painted obelisks decorated with beautiful carvings, including naval trophies, shields, drums, flowers and fruit. It is said that the Baron died of grief because the Queen had not made him heir to the earldom of Wiltshire: though she brought him the patent as he lay on his deathbed, he then refused it. The monument was erected by his son.

The five funeral banners which hang aloft are of the early nineteenth century.

Abbot William de Colchester (d. 1420), for thirty-four years abbot of Westminster, has a high tomb with effigy on the south side of the chapel. He was a favourite of three kings, Richard II, Henry IV and Henry V, and was employed in various embassies. Shakespeare notes a not verified statement that he was concerned in a conspiracy against Richard II. The effigy shows a somewhat stern face, the expression of which is rather vague on account of the nose being broken off, and has a high rich mitre and vestments for the mass. The initials WC are repeated several times on his pillow.

Thomas Cecil, Earl of Exeter, eldest son of the great Lord Burleigh (d. 1622) and his first countess, Dorothy Neville, have a great, high and wide altar tomb



TOMB OF BARON HUNSDON

From Dart's Westminster Abbey.

with effigies in the midst of the chapel, which at once compels attention, though no great hero lies here. Beside the two marble effigies is a place for a third effigy, and according to tradition this place was left vacant for the second wife, but she "disdainfully refused to suffer it to be placed in that situation." She died an old lady of eighty-three and was buried in Winchester cathedral.

Notice the rich black marble slab, seven feet ten inches long and over four feet broad, on which the effigies rest: the Earl wearing over his robes the mantle, and George of the Garter, his feet on a torce supported by two lions: the Countess in robes of state, close embroidered coif, ermined mantle, laced ruff and collar: her hair in a high pompadour roll: her feet on a griffin. The inscription is on the verge and shields of arms decorate the sides of this rich tomb.

Islip's Chapel is a small rectangular chapel projecting from the east aisle of the north transept, and corresponds in size and general character to St. Benedict's in the south transept. Unlike any other chapel in the Abbey, however, it is built in two stories, the upper story approached by a small stairway at the west end, having its own doorway opening to the aisle,

but it once opened into the chapel itself. The lower chapel contained the Jesus altar and the tomb of Abbot Islip and is now used occasionally as a robing room for visiting clergy, especially for the bishop when confirmations take place. It is not open to the public but the few objects of interest which it contains may be seen quite well through the open tracery of the stone screen. Nearly all that once made the interior beautiful has disappeared. The upper chapel, which contains the famous Wax Effigies, is open to aisle and transept save for a low parapet and may be seen on application to a verger.

The name of Abbot Islip (d. 1532) constantly appears in the later history of the monastery and the church building. He took his second name from the place of his birth in Oxfordshire, was elected to the abbacy in 1500 and served with great acceptance for more than thirty years. He was a zealous builder and superintended much of the beautiful work of Henry VII's chapel (the cornerstone of which he laid) and of the west end of the nave. To him we owe the western towers so high as the roof: the Abbot's Pew and apartments in the rear: and the statues of sovereigns in the niches of the buttresses of the nave. The Abbot was highly

esteemed by Henry VII and by Henry VIII, at whose coronation he assisted. He died at his manor of Neate in Chelsea by the Thamesside, a favourite country seat of the abbots, and his funeral was an imposing ceremony which continued two entire days. The famous Islip Roll* pictures the Abbot's deathbed, with priests and monks standing by his side, and at the foot of his couch the Virgin is represented interceding with her Son for the dying man in the words, *"Islip, O Filii veniens, succurre Johanni!"*

The chapel was like that of St. Benedict until Islip transformed it by building a rich stone screen to separate it from the ambulatory: inserting a floor, thus giving it two stories: vaulting the lower chapel with fan tracery and providing altars and rich furnishings. He evidently inserted glass quarries similar to those in Henry VII's chapel, for Walpole writes of seeing in the Bishop of Rochester's palace two panes of glass "purloined from Islip's chapel, with that abbot's rebus, an eye and a slip of a tree." The Screen is lavishly decorated with tracery, foliage ornament,

*A parchment roll, according to monastic custom, was drawn up at the death of some favourite brother of the monastery and carried to other monasteries in order to secure prayers for the soul of the departed.

running vines, and the Abbot's rebus, over and over. The little doorway at the west is richly sculptured in its arch and has an oak door studded with nails.

The chapel interior is dimly lighted by a north window. The Abbot intended it for his burial place and here he built two

altars, one within the window recess on the north wall, over which was carved a half figure of our Lord issuing from clouds and attended by two angels: the other at the east, and over it a painting of The Crucifixion or The Assumption. In the midst of the chapel stood the founder's tomb, with effigy, where prayers were said for him from the year of his death, 1532, until the Dissolution of the monastery a few years later. Here, on a small scale, he reproduced the most beautiful features of Henry VII's chapel, the panelled walls,

the fan vault, the broad dividing arch between the bays, and the frequent use of emblems with many roses and initials. The central boss, which was probably a Crucifixion, has been hacked away. The altar tomb had two marble slabs, the upper supported by small pillars of wrought iron, fluted, and the alabaster effigy was robed as for mass.

There is a curious tomb to Sir Christopher Hatton (d. 1619) and his wife, Lady Alice, on the east wall, the two kneeling, one on either side of a gable-shaped prayer desk, the lady in mourning and the shields of their arms upheld by two genii with torches, one reversed for the dead knight.

Lady Anne Mowbray, daughter to the fourth Duke of Norfolk, the child who was married at five to Richard, son of Edward IV, of the same age, in 1478, has here an unmarked grave.

The upper chapel is merely a platform surrounded by a low parapet, but it once had an altar at the east, with a painting of The Crucifixion above. The chief use of the chapel at present is as a receptacle for the old wax effigies of sovereigns and noblemen, which were once borne in funeral processions, dressed in imitation of the deceased and afterwards placed in

glass cases and left standing by the graves. Originally, the actual body of a sovereign, embalmed, was borne openly in the procession, as a precautionary measure, to assure the people that his death had really occurred, and allayed suspicion. The effigies stood by their graves for years: that of General Monk, for fifty years, it is said. Laudatory verses were often attached to these hearses or effigies. The custom is alluded to in Jonson's well-known lines on Lady Pembroke:

> "Underneath this sable herse,
> Lies the subject of all verse."

The *wooden* effigies, called The Ragged Regiment, are now exhibited in the Norman Undercroft in the cloister. The effigies of wax are today of far more elegant appearance: though much worn and often very shabby. The hands and heads of these were made of wax and painted to resemble life, supplied with wigs, and when decked with royal robes, with laces and imitation gems, bearing sceptre and orb, they were doubtless commanding figures.

Eleven of these effigies are now preserved in this chapel, and they have long been exhibited: some of them were made (like that of Queen Elizabeth) for this

very purpose and others were dressed anew from time to time, as their garments became worn and shabby.

The oldest is that of Charles II (d. 1685), said to have stood by his grave in Henry VII's chapel for two centuries. The figure is erect, the face dark, grewsome and repulsive, taken from a death mask: the long, flowing wig is brought forward over his shoulders: the blue and red velvet robes are said to be those of a knight of the Garter of that period: the frills and cravat are of real point lace: the hat is decorated wtih a rich plume: he wears the Garter on his left leg. The effigy of General Monk, Duke of Albemarle, is placed near that of the king whom he helped to regain his throne, a short figure in armour, with mantle and cape and a rich coronet, and the cap which the vergers once used to collect their fees for the exhibition.

The effigy of Queen Elizabeth is one of the most striking, the face, evidently portrayed from life, is aged, hard, alive, the eyes staring on all sides, the expression haughty, the hair and eyebrows red. She bears in one hand the orb, in the other a rich sceptre, and the poor body is attired in a brocade robe lavishly bedecked with great pearls and gems and a rich neck-

lace on her withered neck. Her high-heeled shoes are rosetted: the pose is proud and haughty. This is not the original effigy, however, but one made by order of the chapter in 1760, the old one being so thoroughly worn and decayed that it had to be removed. This new figure and some others were ordered to enrich the collection which was exhibited for the benefit of the choirmen or the vergers.

The effigies of William and Mary, in a single case, are in excellent condition and of much interest as probably truthful representations. The short King is placed on a low stool to bring him near the height of his tall Queen. The King has a strong, resolute face, long flowing wig, velvet robe and mantle trimmed with ermine, a Collar of SS, and bears the orb and sceptre. The Queen's purple velvet robes, brocaded skirt, ermine trimmings and rose point lace set off with pearl and diamond ornaments are equally rich. A royal crown lies on a table between them, resting on a cushion.

Queen Anne's effigy is also full of life, and her robes very handsome. On her neck she wears a double row of pearls, each bearing a pendant and her rich crown is set with jewels. La Belle Stuart, the

beautiful Frances, Duchess of Richmond, who sat for the figure of Britannia on the coins gave especial directions for her effigy which was to be done in wax, "as well as can be," and placed in a press with clean crown glass before it and dressed in her Coronation robes and coronet. She so appears in this well-preserved effigy. The hands, no doubt modelled from life, are of much beauty with long tapering fingers. The robes are those which she wore at Queen Anne's coronation. Perched on a bracket at her side is a parrot, in memory of one that she had for forty years and which outlived his beautiful mistress only a few days. After she was disfigured by disease she lived in retirement, with pets for company.

Catherine, Duchess of Buckinghamshire, the proud but illegitimate daughter of James II, is another semi-royal figure, her effigy dressed in the robes she wore at the coronation of George II. Her last surviving son, Edmund Sheffield, who died at nineteen in Rome, of fever, is represented by a recumbent effigy under a glass case in the midst of the chapel. The Duchess gave careful directions for this effigy: the face is pale and delicate, the eyes, unlike those of the other effigies, are closed and the robes are ermine-trimmed.

The figure of Lord Chatham in Parliamentary robes attracted so many visitors that the fee for admission was doubled. The figure of Nelson was put up in competition, we are told, to attract those who flocked to St. Paul's to see his grave, and is said to have been modelled from a smaller one wrought from life. The missing arm and the defective eye "which could not see a signal to retreat," the naval uniform (all except the coat being original), the hat, sword and sash, all contributed to the popularity of this figure, which speedily turned the tide of public interest in the desired direction.

The chest in which Andre's body was brought from America, a square, painted pine box, is here preserved.

The East Aisle of the North Transept is now entered, not from the transept itself, whose monuments bar the way, but from this north ambulatory. It was originally divided into three chapels, one in each bay, separated from each other by rich screens and entered each by its own door from the transept. Each had an altar, with relics and ministering priests: but the screens were long ago torn down and the altars demolished, and now there is a continuous aisle crowded with monuments. In the days of the Stuart Kings,

the chapels were fitted with platforms and used when the Lower House of Convocation met here, the Upper House meeting in Henry VII's chapel.

The southmost chapel was dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, and cherished among its precious relics the garments of the saint and a portion of the cell in which he died at Ephesus, during the reign of Trajan, the relics being presented by the "Good Queen Maud." Portions of a beautiful reredos are still to be seen on the east wall, above and behind which rises the wall of Islip's chapel. Among the principal objects of interest here, notice, on the west wall:

A bust and tablet to Sir John Franklin (d. 1847), with the well-remembered epitaph by Tennyson (who was Franklin's nephew by marriage):

"Not here, the white North holds thy bones and thou
Heroic sailor soul,
Art passing on thy happier voyage now
Towards no earthly pole."

Sir John was lost with his entire crew while seeking to discover the northwest passage. Lady Franklin, his second wife, after a long season of waiting for his return, sent out five expeditions to the "White North," and at length, in 1857, pitiful traces of the sad fate of the party

were round, including a written statement that Sir John had died June 11, 1847, ten years before, in King William's Land. A statue was put up to his memory in Waterloo Place at public expense. This monument was erected by Lady Franklin, but was not unveiled until 1875, two years after her death. The inscription at the side reads: "This monument erected by Lady Franklin, who, after long waiting and sending in search of him, herself departed to seek him and to find him in the realms of light." Sir John appears as in his portraits, the face genial, the eyes deep-set, the mouth wide and pleasant. He is represented in furs and wears his orders of honour. Below the bust is a relief of a ship in the midst of icebergs, and above and below the inscription: "O ye Frost and Cold, O ye Ice and Snow, Bless ye the Lord: praise Him and magnify Him forever." Sir John had fought at Copenhagen and at Trafalgar. The niche in which the tablet is set is an Early English arch with dogtooth ornament, supported by pillars wreathed with natural flowers and foliage.

"Was there ever spoken
A farewell softer to spirit fled
Than Franklin hears in this quiet haven
Where moor the fleets of our mighty Dead?"
SIR EDWIN ARNOLD.

An interesting monument in this bay to Sir Francis de Vere (d. 1609) is in memory of a brave soldier who distinguished himself by twenty years' service in the Dutch wars, and was commander-in-chief of the British troops in the Netherlands. The monument, erected by his widow, is a replica of the tomb of Engelbert, Count of Nassau, in the Protestant church at Breda, where, as here, four kneeling knights support a black marble table bearing the armour of the dead man, who is represented by an effigy beneath. The four figures are of alabaster: the slab of black marble bears an alabaster effigy of the knight. Notice in particular the graceful effigy of Sir Francis, whose eyes are open: the martial air, the manly faces and the rich armour of the four knights, one having a high plumed hat by his side. The knight at the head and to the right of the effigy in particular roused the admiration of Roubiliac, whose masterpiece, the Nightingale monument, is close by: "Hush, hush, he vill speak presently," he softly whispered to some one who addressed him. Miles Standish, then an ambitious young soldier, sought military training in the popular camp of Sir Francis and there received his captaincy.

Grace Scot (d. 1646), whose father,

Sir Thomas Mauleverer, and her husband, Colonel Scot, were judges at the trial of Charles I, has a monument in this bay. Her husband was executed as a regicide, in Charing Cross, at the Restoration.

In St. Michael's, the second chapel of this aisle, is an interesting Elizabethan monument to Catherine Dormer, Lady St. John (d.1615), which was broken up at one time but was restored by Dean Stanley. The stiff little effigy in the quaint robes of the period is half reclining; the child once by her side is missing.

The most sensational monument within the Abbey is undoubtedly that to Lady Elizabeth Nightingale (d. 1731), designed by Roubiliac and greatly admired by the artist and his contemporaries. The partly open door of a prison house is represented from which a grim skeleton of Death is hurling a dart at a delicate lady on a platform over the tomb. She is falling back into the arms of her husband, who is endeavoring to ward off the inevitable blow. Wesley named this and the "Pancake" monument of Admiral Tyrrell in the nave as those "with which none other monuments are worthy to be compared." Lady Nightingale was a daughter of Earl Ferrers.

A monument on the west wall of this

chapel pathetically recalls, in connection with the *Titanic* disaster, the terrible loss of life in the wreck of Admiral Kempenfelt's flagship, the *Royal George,* in 1782, as the ship lay at anchor off Spithead, while the Admiral was writing letters in his cabin and the ship was thronged with visitors. The ship, "by some unaccountable misfortune," as an eye-witness testified, careened and suddenly sank, with one thousand people on board: and though it was at ten o'clock on an August morning, and boats were at hand and the ship at anchor, only three hundred out of the entire company were saved. Cowper's familiar lines appear, in part, on the tablet:

"But Kempenfelt is gone,
His victories are o'er,
And he and his eight hundred
Shall plow the waves no more."

The admiral is represented making his way upward through clouds, with outstretched hands, while an angel awaits him with crown and palm. A bas relief shows the masts of the *Royal George* as she appeared long after, rising above water.

In the chapel of St. Andrew at the end of this aisle stand three large, white marble statues, representing Thomas Telford (d. 1834), builder of the Menai Bridge and Caledonian Canal, buried in the nave:

John Philip Kemble, the actor (d. 1823), as *Cato*: and his sister, the famous Mrs. Siddons (d. 1831), represented as the Tragic Muse, taken from her well-known picture by Reynolds. A lofty, canopied marble monument with effigies of Lord and Lady Norris and their six soldier sons, recalls the days of Anne Boleyn and Lord Norris' father who forfeited his life on the scaffold for defending the young queen.

A curious tablet on the east wall to Mrs. Ann Kirton, who died in 1603, has an alabaster eye on the upper part of the frame from which a shower of alabaster tears is falling.

TOMB OF LORD AND LADY NORRIS AND THEIR SIX SONS

From Ackerman's Westminster Abbey.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE NAVE

"Pray tell me then, what is the great man who lies here particularly remarkable for?" "Remarkable, Sir!" said my companion; "why, Sir, the gentleman that lies here is remarkable for having a tomb in Westminster Abbey."

GOLDSMITH'S "Citizen of the World."

THE general aspect of the nave is stately, dignified and well-ordered but not richly beautiful as are the eastern arm of the church and the transepts. Its somewhat harsh and uninviting appearance is increased by the cold, generally unsightly marble monuments which have been permitted to encroach on its walls. In other parts of the Abbey the same inharmonious monuments appear and in equal number: but relief is furnished in nearly all these instances by the fact that a great or a loved name is honoured: or that the monument is of some beauty in design or in detail: or the part of the church in which it is located possesses architectural richness. Some few of the monuments in the nave are those of heroes, of men great in

the world of science or invention, but it chances that nearly all of these famous names are without monuments or have merely a slab in the pavement; many others have no legitimate claim to remembrance in a great national mausoleum.

The general effect of what is really a large nave is also much disturbed by the cutting off for use as a choir of the four eastern and richest bays. Thus we seem to have a short nave of eight bays, with unmistakably lofty aisles, instead of the full extension of twelve bays which was really intended. The eye resents this interference and the lack of harmony in proportions: for it is the loftiest church in England and demands, to match its height, all the length which the architect planned for it. Moreover, in dark and sooty London, and (especially in the vicinity of the Thames) often foggy London, the aisles of the church are usually dark and the west door, which is the only outer entrance to the nave, is open only on special occasions, and no ray of illumination is usually to be expected from that quarter.

But however disappointing in its general aspect, the nave holds in its shelter the mortality of Isaac Newton and David Livingstone: Ben Jonson, and Lyell:

Stephenson and Darwin: and as a guardian of such treasures, and with its interesting architectural history, it can never lack distinction and interest for the student.

To gain a comprehensive idea of the nave, first study its plan. Twelve bays with aisles mark its length from crossing to west door, and it is built in three stages with the usual main arcade, triforium and clerestory of the Early English plan, each stage being lofty. The height almost equals that of a French cathedral, but Amiens and Beauvais are forty full feet higher than this vault, which rises to one hundred feet. The dark aisles are narrow and tunnel-like: the four eastern bays are enclosed from the central and side aisles by screens and form the ritual choir: the aisles, not so used, are crowded with monuments. Two doors lead out on the south from the nave to the cloister, one near the east and one near the west end of the south aisle.

The east view of the nave from the west door presents a long, forest-like vista down past innumerable slender stone shafts from which rise sharply-pointed arches, all overspread by interlacing stone branches of the lofty vault and terminating, far beyond the modern choir screen, in the brightly windowed apse at

the east, which looks down with friendly guardian eyes on the shrine and coffin of the Abbey's early royal founder and builder. The west end is less interesting than the east, lacking the latter's fine perspective and apsidal mystery, and is terminated by the not very interesting large Perpendicular window over the west door glazed with highly coloured Flemish glass. The lofty height of the vault and the height and slenderness of the long range of shafts surrounding the large columns, suggest the Perpendicular Gothic style, as also the high, light, almost meagre bases of the columns in the western bays. But the eye at once detects the presence of an enriched, fully developed triforium and a lofty clerestory which would never be seen in conjunction in a fifteenth century design.

We know that the entire church, except Henry VII's chapel, is of the Early English Gothic style, with French suggestions: but all this western portion of the nave, built in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and not quite complete till the sixteenth, yet was constructed in a reverent imitation of the Early English work which Henry III inaugurated and which was carried on by those who followed him, a rare example of Early English architecture being imitated in the Decorated and Per-

THE NAVE LOOKING EAST

pendicular periods. And to one's fancy, these far western bays have a forced and almost unfriendly aspect, as if they had been diverted from their natural manner and imposed upon by a design for which they had no feeling of kinship.

The bases in the eastern bays are of purely Early English design, having a double plinth, rather high for the date, and the typical hollow moulding called the water mould. In the western bays, however, the plinth is much higher and the mouldings are no longer hollow but have the drooping effect, almost overhanging the plinth, as in the fourteenth century, when, if late observations are correct* all the main arcade of the nave was constructed: and in general they are more slender and delicate in appearance than those of the earlier century. Pass from one bay to another studying the bases only and note the difference.

The piers themselves are an interesting study. They are of hard Purbeck, which had to be softened with vinegar before any considerable amount of carving could be effected, and each cost from two to four hundred dollars. All the arches are acutely pointed and of graceful and elegant proportions: richly moulded but without

*Lethaby and Rackham.

other ornament, only those in the side chapels having foliage capitals: the projection of the outer moulding forms a beautiful shadow. The spandrils of the arches in the main and triforium stages of the eastern bays, as in the transept, are enriched with beautiful diaper work which does not appear in either story of the western bays.

The design of the triforium throughout the building is the same as in the choir, but is less enriched in the westmost bays of the nave. This story is carved in two planes, has a wide floored passage which is well lighted by a range of triangular windows (not visible from the floor of the nave) and which proves of much service when great processions are formed at coronations and other notable functions. Graduated rows of seats placed here for the late coronation rose almost to the very ceiling of the triforium. The junction of the early and the later work is readily detected by following the triforium on from bay to bay and noting where the diaper work ceases in the spandrils and also where the string course fails to coincide.

The triforium design, here as elsewhere, shows two principal arches of beautiful proportions in each bay, each subdivided with trefoiled arches: the tympanum of

the main arch enriched by a moulded circle enclosing an open fivefoil, which encloses a delicate open ring or circle. The airy grace of this artistic design adds a feature of distinguishing beauty throughout the entire church, for it appears everywhere except in the chapels: but perhaps its full beauty is better appreciated here than elsewhere, since it forms almost the only enrichment in the way of ornament of the nave architecture.

The clerestory, as we have seen elsewhere, is unusually lofty, the main arcade occupying one half of the entire height of the bays: the triforium one-sixth, and the clerestory one-third. Each bay has a two-light window with traceried head of simple design, containing in the older work a cinquefoil within a moulded circle and sometimes a sexfoil: but in the later work it is usually a quatrefoil or a cinquefoil.

The main arcade (as we have seen in the chapter on the history of the building of this *Novum Opus*), in the bays west of Henry III's work, was constructed for its entire length in Richard II's period by Cardinal Langham's bequest: the triforium and clerestory in the following period and the vaulting and roof of main and side aisles last of all.

The West Window, of Perpendicular design, the latest work of the nave, having Flemish glass, is set above the high, square west doorway whose arch is the central one in a graduated arcade of five arches. The double range of panels above the door is pierced with slits which furnish light to the staircases to the towers. While the glass is not very excellent it is better than most in the Abbey. The stone work of the window is as old as the discovery of America, being the work of Abbot Easteney. The design is both simple and elegant. The Abbot was his own director and carefully attended to each detail. There is beautiful tracery in the jambs.

The window is divided into twenty-four large compartments with tracery at the head and has two principal and four inferior mullions and four transoms. The date of the glass is in large figures at the top, 1735. The background of all but the lowest range of compartments is a gleaming, cloudlike silver glass and in each compartment is the figure of an Old Testament patriarch on a pedestal, the robes of rich ruby, amber, sapphire or emerald, contrasting very sharply with the brilliant ground and are the only bright colour in this part of the nave except the soft old

glass at the west end of the side aisles. This window was restored and the glass inserted in 1735, George II being king. The figures are named beneath. In the fourth row in the centre are the arms and supporters of George II, a lion and a unicorn, rich in colour and design, amber predominating. In the side compartments appear the arms assigned to King Sebert: those of Queen Elizabeth: of Dean Wilcocks, Bishop of Rochester (in whose time the west front was finally completed), and the arms of the College of Winchester.

The Vaulting of the central aisle is rich and elaborately decorated with bosses, those on the main rib consisting of heads, foliage and initials: the cross rib in the centre of each bay has a pair of bosses. The subjects include the Tudor rose and the portcullis: a catherine wheel, which, here and elsewhere, may be in honour of the saint to whom the Infirmary chapel is dedicated: or to Katherine, queen of Henry V: or to Catherine of Aragon, who married Henry VIII in 1501, when work on the nave was being completed. In this bay also are the arms of the Confessor: and the cross keys of St. Peter of the Abbey arms. In the seventh bay, the central figure is a Tudor rose: in the ninth are the

initials I H S: in the tower bay, a portcullis, the Confessor's arms and those of the Abbey.

In the central aisle of the nave was formerly to be seen a central course of stones set square, having on either side squares placed diamond-wise, and a course of square stones beyond, this order continuing in the cloisters, and in the chapel of Henry VII, thus forming a complete circuit of the building. The central course was called The Middle Tread and was doubtless serviceable in guiding the path of the processions of clergy. All the squares of this middle course were seventeen inches long and probably of the same width. Many of these old middle and side stones are to be seen in various parts of the Abbey: an old engraving shows the Middle Tread of the nave.

The narrow Nave aisles have two-light traceried windows once richly glazed with figures, probably the portraits of benefactors, since Edward the Confessor, the Black Prince and Richard II are known to have been among them. The wall arcade under the windows which, with the triforium arcade, constitutes the loveliest feature of the architectural design, is much broken away by the insertion of mural monuments, but enough remains to show

that the spandrils were variously decorated with carved foliage and animals, deeply undercut and of great beauty. To the east still remain shields of arms, probably those of benefactors of the church, as it was customary here and elsewhere to show honour to such by carving or

ARMS OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

painting their arms on corbels, spandrils or bosses. There were sixteen sculptured shields, eight on the north and eight on the south wall in the easternmost bays of these aisles: and these were originally painted in their proper colours, now almost entirely worn off. There was also a series of shields painted directly on the wall itself, of somewhat later date. Of the fourteen sculptured shields remaining on the aisle walls, the seven on the South wall, begin-

ning at the East, are for Edward the Confessor, a cross *patonce* between five martlets, which are represented with feet erased, indicating that they desired not to rest on earth, for their aspirations were heavenward, but feet appear in later representations:* for Henry III, three lions, *passant, guardant*: for Raymond of Provence, father of Henry III's Queen, four pallets: for Roger Quincey, Earl of Winchester, seven mascles: for Henry de Lacey, Earl of Lincoln, quarterly, red and gold, a bendlet sinister with a black bendlet, and a label of five points over all: for Richard, Earl of Cornwall, Henry III's brother, a lion *rampant* and black bordure charged with twenty-two besants: for William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury and friend of its cathedral and of Henry III, six lioncels *rampant.*

*This shield of arms, commonly attributed to the Confessor, bearing either four or five birds, was the emblem of the Saxon kings and was borne in particular by Alfred, through whom the Confessor claimed the throne. (Arch. Oxon: 1892-5, Heraldry of the Oxford Colleges.) Richard II, who venerated the Confessor, adopted these arms as part of those of England, and they are used by the University College of Oxford, traditionally founded by King Alfred. The custom of bearing arms was not usual, however, until the time of King John (Boutell).

On the north wall the shields are for the Emperor Frederic (Barbarossa), an eagle displayed: for Louis IX of France, *fleur-de-lis, semèe*: for Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, three chevrons: for Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, a cross: for Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, a double-tailed lion *rampant*: for John, Earl of Warwick, chequy, gold and blue, and for William de Fortibus, father of the Countess Aveline, a cross *patonce*. Much importance is attached to these shields in determining the date of the building, as has been said: they doubtless represent benefactors to the church, and that of Simon de Montfort, for example, would hardly have been placed here after he had fallen from the royal favour: while the arms of Castile would almost certainly appear if the work ran into the reign of Edward I and his queen, Eleanor of Castile.

Under the Northwest Tower is a chapel of a single lofty bay, where the bells are rung. It is lighted by windows on the north and west, and its wall arcade is well preserved. The corbels of this arcade are mere blocks of stone, chipped down but never carved. Nearly all the space of this chapel is filled up with great marble monuments, suggesting nothing so much as

a marble-worker's yard. Because of the number of political leaders here commemorated, this is sometimes called The Whig's Corner.

The rich old stained glass in the single-light, deeply recessed window at the west end of the aisle is a patchwork of fragments but is brilliant in its disarray. It contains a large figure of a venerable man, sometimes called the Confessor, in robes of ruby and sapphire: with a double triangle, an emblem of the Trinity below and a portcullis, which seems to be of later date than the rest and may have come from Henry VII's chapel. The border and the rest of the window is made up of fragments.

The small door leads to the belfry stairs.

The Baptistry or Abbot's Chapel at the southwest angle of this aisle corresponds in size and position with the Belfry chapel in the north aisle, and is under the southwest Tower. It was once used as a Consistory Court. Dean Stanley gives it still another name, The Little Poets' Corner but the name is a misnomer, for not a single poet of those whose busts and monuments are placed here, is buried either here or in the Abbey: and indeed, at the present writing the only burials are those

South Nave Aisle

of an old dean and his family and a late postmaster-general.

It was originally the Abbot's Morning chapel, being conveniently near the Abbot's private entrance to his Lodgings, now the Deanery: and from the Abbot's Pew, projecting just above in the triforium of the second bay from the west, he could listen to mass said in the chapel and witness the Elevation of the Host.

The Renaissance carved wood panelling on the south wall formed part of the raised seat of the judge when the chapel was used as a Consistory Court. In the southeast angle is a door to the triforium stairs which lead to the ruins of a little chamber in the triforium containing a fireplace, which was used as a study when the Deanery was occupied by John Bradshaw during the Commonwealth: and here his ghost is said to walk on the anniversary of the execution of Charles I. The low open screen on the east wall separating this chapel from the nave aisle is the work of Abbot Islip and has been decorated with colour. A small window directly over the judge's seat, looks into the Jerusalem Chamber.

The rich but mutilated glass in the single-light west window of this aisle contains a figure said to represent the Black

Prince. The colours are very beautiful, especially the rich ruby and the deep amber: the border is of small lozenges in red, blue and silver. In the lower part is a rich red Tudor rose enclosed in a lozenge. In the next panel above are the arms of the Confessor, a cross and five martlets, light blue on a silver ground. The figure called the Black Prince is in armour with lance and doublet, red hair and beard. Compare this rich mosaic glass of the fourteenth or fifteenth century with that of the modern window near by. The background of this picture is composed of fragments, chiefly brown and amber. The window in memory of George Herbert was the gift of George Childs of Philadelphia. Along the wall at the south and west are the stone benches used by worshippers when the chapel retained its altar. The graceful but plain arcade on the west wall has been left undisturbed.

The names of three noble men are commemorated in this chapel, though they are not buried in the Abbey and have no connection with its history: Dr. Arnold of Rugby (d. 1842), a beautiful half-length bust on the west wall, representing the great master in gown and bands, holding a book, the face fine and thoughtful: the gift of old pupils of Rugby, including

Deans Stanley and Bradley: John Keble (d. 1866), author of "The Christian Year," an ornate portrait medallion richly set with uncut amethyst and carnelian, and at the head a Calvary cross of inlaid marble set with coloured stones: and the poet Wordsworth (d. 1850), buried at Grasmere, a life-size statue, on a pedestal, the face evidently a portrait. Daisies are carved at his feet and ferns are growing on a bank near by.

Three modern busts of gray marble rest on the stone screen at the east: one of Charles Kingsley (d. 1875), the face calm and serene: of Matthew Arnold (d. 1888), alert and confident, ornate in his modern dress: and one of Maurice (d. 1872), delicate, humorous, sunshiny, spiritual. On Kingsley's bracket are carved the mottoes, "God is Love": "Quit you like men"; on that of Maurice, "God is Light," and "He was sent to bear witness of the light." Arnold presents nothing but his own confident self and faces the bust of his father on the opposite side of the chapel.

The great area of the nave is in a sense a modern cemetery in which are found a few world-renowned names, but a far greater number whose right to so conspicuous a place may well be questioned

and, in these later days, many would assuredly have been denied admission. The nave was not used as a place of burial until after the Restoration, and no royal and few noble names are here represented. Yet an aisle which treasures the dust of Isaac Newton, Ben Jonson, David Livingstone, Darwin, Lyell, Stephenson and Lord Kelvin cannot lack interest.

The monuments consist of marble busts, medallions, or figures of the deceased grouped with allegorical figures of Victory, Fame, Time, Justice, Britannia, etc.: with figures of weeping wives and daughters, or cherubs and genii, and reliefs of scenes connected with the life or death by land or sea. The epitaphs of this era are usually fulsome, long, verbose. To describe or even attempt to look at all these monuments and epitaphs, once considered admirable, would be a waste of time. We may notice those which commemorate names of unusual prominence: also a few of the more curious, quaint or unsightly designs.

Over the west door is a great monument containing three life-size figures to William Pitt (d. 1806), twice Prime Minister of England, being only twenty-four when first elected: buried in the north transept not far from Gladstone. He is repre-

sented in Parliamentary robes, leaning forward, one hand extended, engaged in eloquent harangue with an imaginary audience in the nave: while Anarchy, a large male figure, in chains and tearing his hair with rage, sits at his feet, and a female figure, representing History, writes down his eloquent words. The monument was erected by Parliament.

A full length marble statue north of the west door to the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury (d. 1885), the famous philanthropist, buried elsewhere, is regarded by all visitors with affection and esteem. The Earl is represented wearing rich robes of state, with the Collar of St. George, and the truthful epitaph, "Endeared to his countrymen by a long life spent in the cause of the helpless and suffering." Noble in his stately bearing and statuesque face, and still more noble in his well-rounded and unselfish life, he truly exemplified his family motto, "Love, Serve."

The Marquis of Salisbury (d. 1903), thrice Prime Minister, has an altar tomb of black marble at the west bay with a bronze effigy in his robes as a Knight of the Garter. The sides of the tomb are richly decorated with shields of arms in gilt bronze and an arcade containing figures of his ancestors: also small figures of

Scriptural characters representing different virtues.

There is a bronze tablet to "Chinese" Gordon, killed in the massacre at Khartoum in 1885, probably near the palace gate, and his head taken to the Mahdi's camp: called "Chinese" on account of his notable service in China in 1863-4. His death caused national mourning. There is a statue by Thorneycroft to his memory in Trafalgar Square and a bronze effigy in St. Paul's. Tennyson's epitaph comes readily to mind:

"Warrior of God, man's friend, not here below
But somewhere dead far in the waste Soudan,
Thou livest in all hearts, for all men know
This earth hath borne no simpler, nobler man."

A high tablet supported by two lions' heads to George, Lord Viscount Howe (d. 1758), brother of the Admiral of that name, is of interest to Americans because erected by order of the Great and General Court of the Province of Massachusetts Bay "in testimony of the sense they had of his services and military virtues and of the affection their officers and soldiers bore to his command." Lord Howe, a youthful British officer, equally popular with American and English soldiers, came to America in 1757. In the early morning of July 5, 1758, he set out from Lake George for

Ticonderoga, was surprised by a company of French soldiers before reaching the fort, and was killed instantly by the first shot. His body was borne to Albany by his friend, Major Philip Schuyler, and buried in the church on the site of the present St. Peter's. The General Court of Massachusetts, in 1759, voted £250 for a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey. Above the tablet is a large marble figure representing the Genius of Massachusetts. The monument was originally placed on the south wall of the nave. A stone inscribed with Lord Howe's name, lately unearthed at Ticonderoga, perhaps marked the spot where he fell.

At the back of the Howe monument, and with it forming a screen from the main aisle, is a large marble by Westmacott to Charles James Fox (d. 1806), the famous Whig leader during the American Revolution, who is buried in the Statesmen's Aisle of the north transept.

In the North Aisle note the censing angels in the spandrils of the wall arcade in the second bay. And in the window a bust of Sir Charles Lyell (d. 1875), the famous geologist, who lies buried in the next bay. The inscription concludes with the text, "O Lord, how great are Thy works and Thy thoughts are very deep."

One of the Abbey's chief treasures is in this aisle, in the fourth bay from the west, the burial place of the poet, Ben Jonson (d. 1637), and a small stone which once covered his grave but has been placed in the wall near by for preservation, bears the famous and beautiful epitaph, "O rare Ben Jonson." The poet was much eulogized and long lamented. His friends desired to raise a noble monument to his memory, but until this could be accomplished the grave was covered over with a plain slab. Sir John Young chanced one day to pass through the Abbey, and not enduring that the remains of so great a man should lie at all without a memorial gave one of the workmen eighteenpence for carving these words, which remain today as his only but wholly sufficient epitaph. Political troubles prevented the execution of the public monument and the money was returned to the subscribers.*

At this eighth bay from the west it is of interest to notice again the characteristics of the architecture of the early and

*The fact that the poet was buried standing has been proved on two different occasions when graves were being prepared close by. Two reasons are assigned for this singular fact: one, that it was the poet's own idea with view to being in readiness for the Resurrection: the other, that having asked Charles I to grant him the favour of eighteen inches of square ground in the Abbey, he would occupy no more space than this.

late periods: the clustered shafts around the main column, four in the early work, eight in the later: detached in the early work and engaged in the later: the copper rings later used instead of marble to band the piers: the early rounded capitals, those of later work being octagonal: the bases of the early work consisting of one large solid and one octagonal block: those of later date having a base to each shaft. The earlier vaulting has a ground of chalk and freestone: the later is all of stone.

A memorial window to Robert Stephenson, buried in the central aisle, appears in this bay, similar in style and character to the Locke window, but the figures are smaller and the groups better designed. The subjects begin at the foot with The Building of the Ark, of Solomon's Temple, of the Coliseum: of the High Level Bridge at Newcastle and the Britannia Tubular Bridge over Menai Straits, of the Victoria Bridge over the St. Lawrence and the Bentral Bridge over the Nile by Stephenson. The six figures in the tracery represent, in the centre, Stephenson, and above him his brother George, also his friends, Telford, Smeaton, Watt and Rennie.

Sir John Herschel, son of the great astronomer, and Charles Darwin are bur-

ied in this bay. Darwin died in 1882: "No man ever passed away leaving a greater void of enmity or a depth of adoring friendship more profound." When he died twenty members of Parliament addressed a petition to the Dean asking that the body might find a resting-place in the Abbey. He was buried a few feet from Newton in the middle aisle. The pall bearers included James Russell Lowell, Sir John Lubbock and Huxley.

The North Choir Aisle is merely a continuation of this north nave aisle, and might well bear the same name since it is structurally the nave aisle: except for the fact that it lies north of that part of the nave which is used as the choir. The organ once stood above it. It is sometimes called The Musicians' Aisle, because of the number of burials here of musicians and composers. It contains no monuments of special merit and few names of great prominence.

There is a tablet to Purcell (d. 1695, aet. thirty-seven), the greatest English composer of his time, baptized in the Abbey, its organist at twenty-two, and his wife and children buried here with him. Lady Elizabeth Howard, the wife of Dryden, his patron, caused the large blue marble slab to be placed in the pavement, and

the epitaph, said to be by Dryden, reads: "Gone to that blessed place where only his harmony can be excelled." In this short aisle also lies Dr. William Croft (d. 1727), organist of the Abbey: and Dr. Charles Burney, author of "The History of Music," the epitaph by his famous daughter, the author of "Evelina," includes the sentence, "The genial hilarity of his airy spirits animated or softened his every earthly toil." Dr. John Blow (d. 1708), Abbey organist and composer, has a tablet here, and a canon of his composition is represented on the tablet. The tablet to Balfe, author of "The Bohemian Girl," is purely complimentary.

Considerable remains of the wall arcade appear in this aisle: on the north wall there is diaper work in some of the spandrils: and several corbel heads of animals, six of the series of shields of arms and the quaint little heads over which the sculptured loops of the shields are suspended are interesting.

Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton (d. 1845), the philanthropist, has a seated statue on the south wall.

William Wilberforce (d. 1833), the famous philanthropist, who was instrumental in freeing England from the Slave Trade at the time when she had 800,000

slaves in her colonies, is buried in the north transept among his friends "with whom he had fought the same good fight." The large seated statue on a high pedestal in the north choir aisle, "in the attitude which he usually assumed in the House of Commons," shows a wrinkled face and pursed-up mouth. "The ever-lively Wilberforce," wrote Gurney, "infirm as he is in his advanced years, flies about with astonishing activity, and while with nimble finger he seizes on everything that adorns or diversifies his path his mind flits from object to object with unceasing versatility . . . like a bee, and except when fairly asleep is never latent: always in sunshine. Seldom has a mind been more strung to a perpetual tune of love and praise." The last public information that he received was the success of the bill for the abolition of slavery.

The Choir Screen which separates those bays of the nave which are now used as a choir from the rest is a modern construction, dated 1831, but the inner stone work, not easily seen, belongs to an early thirteenth century screen. Notice the gray marble monument to Sir Isaac Newton (d. 1727), north of the central door of the choir screen, and in the pavement in front, the slab marking the place of his burial.

CHOIR SCREEN, NEWTON'S MONUMENT, AND LORD KELVIN'S GRAVE

The plain inscription on the slab, in Latin, is translated: "Here lies what was mortal of Isaac Newton." Stanley says: "The only dust of unquestionably world-wide fame that the floor of Westminster covers . . . of one raised as far above all political or literary magnates by whom he is surrounded as to mark an era in the growth of the monumental history of the whole building." His body lay in state in the Jerusalem Chamber and his pall bearers were the Lord Chancellor, two dukes and two earls. In London he lived handsomely, had a carriage and an establishment of six servants and was both charitable and hospitable. His own diet was frugal, his dress simple and his generosity boundless. Bishop Burnet says of him: "The whitest soul I ever knew." He died at eighty-five of overwork. He had a very lively and piercing eye, "a comely and gracious aspect, with a fine head of hair as white as silver." One tress is preserved at Trinity College, Cambridge, together with his gilded quadrant and compass. His study at Woolsthorpe is still shown and contains the two dials which he made. Of himself, he said, shortly before his death: "I do not know what I may appear to the world, but to myself I seem to have been only like a boy playing on the

seashore, and diverting myself, now and then, finding a smoother pebble or a prettier shell than ordinary, whilst the great ocean of Truth lay all undiscovered before me."

The place of burial was, in some ways, the most conspicuous in the Abbey and had been refused to men of high rank. The heavy monument was put up by the eight grateful nieces and nephews, who were his heirs. A life-size figure of the philosopher, in toga and sandals, is represented half reclining: but the idea of restfulness is destroyed by the appearance of two genii who stand by and point to a problem relating to the solar system which they have brought him to solve. Bas reliefs on the sarcophagus contain emblems of his various discoveries borne by a youth, and include a prism, a reflecting telescope, and four men busy at a furnace, some bearing money, in allusion to his position as Master of the Mint. The Genius of Astronomy is represented at the back of the monument, seated, weeping, on a globe. The monument was greatly admired when completed and drew curious crowds to the Abbey.

Lord Kelvin (William Thomson), who died in 1907, the great Scotch scientist, is buried near the foot of Newton's monu-

ment. The son of a professor of mathematics in the University of Glasgow, he became a professor of natural philosophy in the same university at twenty-two and retained his connection here throughout his long life. His achievements in a broad field of scientific research are very well known. He was knighted by Queen Victoria in 1866 for his successful assistance in completing the third Atlantic cable: and in 1892 was raised to the peerage as Baron Kelvin. He was called the most versatile and brilliant student of physical science in the century, and it was said that half the universities of Europe and America had honoured him with degrees. Yet he was diffident and unassuming, like his great master. His funeral was attended by men of the highest distinction, representing many universities and societies, the Royal Family and the diplomatic circle.

There are eight bays west of the screen in this Middle Aisle. In the first three rest three of England's most famous modern architects, Sir G. G. Scott, Alfred Street, and Sir Charles Barry. Each has an elaborate brass in the pavement. The name of Sir G. G. Scott (d. 1878), a grandson of the famous Bible commentator, is prominently connected with cathedral architecture and restoration in Eng-

land, a noted leader in the revival of Gothic architecture, and for many years architect to the dean and chapter of this Abbey, every stone of which was dear to him. The Albert Memorial, the Martyr's Monument at Oxford, the Treasury, Colonial and India Offices, and St. Pancras Hotel at the Midland Station are among the works of his design. The light stone slab is enriched with an elaborate brass in the centre of which is a Calvary cross, and at the base Sir Gilbert is represented sitting in his study and about him are scenes from his life as a painter, an architect and a sculptor.

Sir Charles Barry (d. 1860) was the architect of the Houses of Parliament, a plan of which and of the Victoria Tower appear on his brass. The old House of Parliament burned down in 1834. The river wall of the new one was begun in 1837, but the first stone of the building was not laid till three years later. The House of Lords was sufficiently advanced for use in 1847, and the two houses were formally opened by Queen Victoria in 1852 and Barry received the order of knighthood. He had come to live at 32 St. George's Street in order to be conveniently near his work. At his death in 1860, the building was not wholly com-

pleted but was finished by his son. The Reform Club in Pall Mall is called Barry's finest work.

Robert Stephenson, the great engineer (d. 1859), is buried in this middle aisle, and according to his wish near his friend Telford. The large marble slab, the fossils of which are conspicuous, has a border and effigy of brass. The slab has a diapered ground and in the centre stands the full length effigy, the arms calmly folded, and the dress not a Roman toga, or mediæval armour, after a once prevalent fashion, but a slightly modified coat and trousers of generous dimensions, resembling a comfortable dressing-gown, with fringed sash. As there is no pedestal for the feet to rest on, the effect is as if the effigy were floating in space and liable to pass on up the aisle at any moment.* Though the great engineer was born in a humble condition, "he was rich in spirit: he was from the first compelled to rely upon himself: every step of advance which he made being conquered by patient labour . . . he might say he had become great by neglecting nothing. . . . Among those who assembled around his grave were some of the greatest men of

*It has been irreverently called "the swimming monument."

thought and action in England, who embraced the sad occasion to pay the last mark of respect to this illustrious son of England's greatest workingmen."*

Thomas Telford (d. 1834, aet. seventy-five) is buried near Stephenson. He was the builder of the Menai Bridge and Caledonian Canal: a friend of the poet Campbell and of Southey, who said: "I would go a long way for the sake of seeing Telford and spending a few days in his company." The son of an Eskdale shepherd, he was a happy man, known in his home as "Laughing Tam," and lived a long, successful and useful life. He established popular libraries for the use of farmers, shepherds, labourers and their children, in his native county, and Smiles says: "There is scarcely a cottage in the valley in which good books are not to be found under perusal: and we are told that it is a common thing for the Eskdale shepherd to take a book in his plaid to the hillside . . . a volume of Shakespeare, Prescott, Macaulay . . . and read it there, under the blue sky, with his sheep and the green hills before him . . . and thus the good, great engineer will not cease to be remembered with gratitude in his beloved Eskdale."

*Smiles.

David Livingstone (d. 1873), buried in the fourth bay, has in some respects the most interesting grave in the Abbey. This well-known African explorer and Christian missionary, born in Lanarkshire in 1813, labouring incessantly for the welfare of the natives in Central Africa, at length died alone in that distant land. He passed away as he knelt in prayer at his bedside and was found in this attitude, with his head resting on his hands. His remains, rudely embalmed (the heart and viscera were buried in Africa), were enclosed in a cylinder of bark, lashed to a pole, and two faithful Christian natives, one a Nassick boy named Jacob Wainwright, carried them through forests and over seas for thousands of miles to the African coast at Zanzibar, and, after eleven months to London. "When Jacob Wainwright, the negro boy, threw the palm branch into the open grave, more moved by the sight of the dead man's coffin than by the vast assemblage which, from the floor to the clerestory, crowded the Abbey, it was felt that the Lanarkshire pioneer of Christian civilization, the greatest African traveller of all time, had not laboured in vain." The inscription: "Brought by faithful hands over land and sea, here rests David Livingstone, Missionary, Traveller,

Philanthropist. . . . For thirty years his life was spent in an unwearied effort to evangelize the native races, to explore the undiscovered secrets, to abolish the desolating slave trade of Central Africa, where, with his last words, he wrote: 'All I can add in my solitude is, May Heaven's richest blessing come down on every one, American, English or Turk, who will help to heal this open sore of the world.' . . . Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also I must bring and they shall hear my voice."

A quotation from Lucan's Pharsalia, referring to the aspiration of Julius Cæsar to find the source of the Nile, follows and may be thus translated: "So great is my love of truth that there is nothing I would rather know than the causes of the river that have lain hid through so many ages."

A noble company of mourners came to show their esteem for the great man at his burial. I quote from the funeral sermon: "When he lay, a new-born babe, upon his mother's arm in that humble home, how little likely that his name should become world-famous and that in death his very dust should be deemed so precious as to be reverently borne for thousands of miles through African tribes and over troubled seas that it might finally rest in

the sanctuary of England's noblest dead." Miss Dorothy Tennant, on the day of her marriage to Livingstone's friend and fellow-explorer, Sir Henry M. Stanley brought a beautiful wreath of white flowers, and as she passed down this stately aisle in her fair bridal robes, stooped and laid this tribute on the low stone bearing Livingstone's name.*

Dean Richard Chevenix Trench (d. 1886), for seven years Dean of Westminster, and twenty-one years Archbishop in his native city, Dublin, author of "The Study of Words," is buried in the fifth bay under an incised marble slab. He is well remembered at the Abbey as having established the evening services in the nave.

George Peabody (d. 1869), the American millionaire and philanthropist, for twenty-six years merchant and banker in London and the giver of two and a half million dollars to establish model homes for the London poor, died in this city, and for nearly a month previous to its removal to America, the body rested in the third bay from the west door. He was

*It was Stanley's dearest wish to be laid to rest by Livingstone's side. But this was denied him. The funeral ceremony was in the Abbey, and for a brief moment the body was rested on the grave of the man he loved, and then borne away for burial elsewhere.

buried in Danvers, Mass., his body being conveyed to America in a ship especially granted by the Queen.

The small low door in the first bay east of the Tower, having delicate iron barred work in its upper panels, leads to the Deanery via the Jerusalem Chamber. By this, the modern dean often comes in to his church. So many deans sleep in this aisle, near the threshold of their old residence, that it might almost be called the Dean's Aisle. Here are Wilcocks, Atterbury, Thomas, Pearce, Buckland and the late Dean Bradley of venerated memory.

A marble tablet over the door is in honour of Henry Wharton (d. 1664), author of the *Anglia Sacra,* a chaplain of Archbishop Sancroft.

Near by is a large marble sarcophagus and medallion to the poet Congreve (d. 1728-9), put up by Henrietta, Duchess of Marlborough, whom he made his heir, "as a mark how tenderly she remembered the happiness and honour she enjoyed in the sincere friendship of so worthy and honest a man." The columns of the arch of this arcade are of richly coloured marble like the sarcophagus of the monument. A pile of masks rests on an open book on the sarcophagus. The medallion of white and black marbles has a half-length

figure of the poet in a full-bottomed wig: the eyes are open.

The old oak Pew or balcony, called The Abbot's Pew, projecting in this bay over the door from the Deanery, is a curious feature, built, with the sixteenth-century room behind it, by Abbot Islip. It has a low, plain, square wooden canopy and panelled front. From this the Abbot could listen to mass in the chapel at the the west. It is a convenient point from which processions passing up and down the central aisle of the nave can be viewed by privileged guests.

In the pavement of this bay is a large blue marble slab to the famous Jacobite dean, Francis Atterbury, who died in 1732, with his wife Catherine and daughter Mary. Also in the pavement a small slab to Nance Oldfield (d. 1730), the most famous actress of her day, brought in state to the Jerusalem Chamber and buried here with the utmost pomp.

Charles Reade wrote: "So Anne Oldfield sleeps in Westminster Abbey, near the poets whose thoughts took treble glory from her while she adorned the world."

The great monument to Admiral Tyrrell (d. 1766 and buried at sea), once much admired, is now irreverently termed

"the pancake monument," on account of the shape of the clouds. The admiral's ship is represented in the bed of the ocean in the midst of seaweed and coral: and formerly a figure of the admiral himself appeared rising out of the sea into the great marble clouds which then blocked up the window: but the clouds have been removed to the triforium. The monument was by a pupil of the realistic Roubiliac. Figures of History and Navigation diversify the scene.

A door to the west walk of the cloister opens from the fifth bay. A part of the beautiful wall arcade sculpture in the spandrils of this bay has escaped the hands of the monument builders, and shows acorns, vine leaves, grapes and grotesque corbels, some very delicately carved. And in the sixth bay the spandril carvings are flowers, foliage and animals: a small demi-angel: and descending animals appear on the corbels of the middle arch. In the eighth bay is the most complete portion of the wall arcade in the nave, having diaper work like that of the triforium: two shields of arms held in place by carved straps depending from carved heads and two small figures in the spandrils, one winged.

A large tablet and sarcophagus in the

eighth bay has a relief for Major André, Adjutant-General of the British forces in America, who was executed as a spy in 1780. The body was first buried at the place of execution, on the Hudson, but was brought to the Abbey in 1821, and buried in this aisle. The bas relief on the sarcophagus represents Washington in his tent with officers receiving the report of the Court of Inquiry: at the same time a messenger with a flag of truce is arriving with André's letter asking for a soldier's death. At one side, André is being prepared for execution. A lion and Britannia appear at the top, lamenting Andre's fate and at the foot of a tree, a woman and child represent Mercy and Innocence. The heads of the two principal figures have often been torn off and replaced. That of Washington does not even remotely suggest the original. Note from this point the excellent view of the old glass in the west window of the aisle.

In the South Choir Aisle, on the north side of the ninth bay from the west, near the organ case, is a realistic monument to Thomas Thynne of Longleat, known on account of his wealth as Tom of Ten Thousand, who was barbarously murdered in the Haymarket, on Sunday, February 12, 1682, while riding in his coach. The

scene is represented in relief on the monument.

On the south wall is a medallion with bust of Isaac Watts (d. 1748), buried in Bunhill Fields, the bust disclosing an agreeable, serene face, and partly supported by two very chubby boys. The relief in the medallion represents Watts, seated on a stool and receiving inspiration from an angel in the heavens above, whom it would be invidious to criticise. The frame of the medallion is carved with delicately beautiful foliage and flowers.

The Wesley brothers, John and Samuel, have a medallion near by containing the two profile heads and below a quotation: "The best of all is God with us." Underneath is a relief of a preaching scene with the inscriptions, "I look upon all the world as my parish," and "God buries his workmen but carries on his work," these taken from the inscriptions on their tombs.

There is a marble tablet, richly earned, to Colonel Joseph Lemuel Chester, of Columbia College, New York, who died in 1882 in London, which had been his home for many years. He was the careful and learned editor of *The Westminster Abbey Register,* which threw new light on many difficult problems in the

Abbey history. The inscription reads: "In grateful memory of the distinterested labour of an American master of English genealogical learning, this tablet was erected by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster."

Sir Godfrey Kneller (d. 1723), the only painter commemmorated in the Abbey, born at Lubeck, has a bust and large tablet of his own designing, executed by Rysbrack, in the window of this bay. A favourite portrait painter of the Court in the time of Charles II, he was still living in the time of George I, painting court beaux and belles. The epitaph is by Pope, who truthfully said that it was the worst thing that he ever wrote. The artist had a decided aversion to burial in the Abbey. "They do bury fools there," were almost his last words to Pope. He was not buried here, however: and his bust is here only by chance, since the place selected for it in Twickenham church is occupied by the tablet to Pope's father. And after considerable controversy between Pope and Mrs. Kneller, the bust was placed here.

Here is a monument with a shipwreck scene in relief, to William Wragge of South Carolina, who, when the war of Independence was declared, espoused the

King's cause and fled to England but was shipwrecked on the coast of Holland. He is represented struggling for his life in the water. A Dutch house and church are seen in the background. A graceful female figure leans weeping over the relief.

In the south wall of the fourth bay, a door opens out to the East walk of the cloister in which the chapter house is situated. The arch over the door has a richly carved moulding and diaper work.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE CLOISTER AND CHAPTER HOUSE

(Early English, Decorated and Perpendicular)

THE great Abbey Church of St. Peter's Monastery of Westminster was the centre of the religious life of the monks and fulfilled the purpose for which the monastery existed. To these same stately aisles came the monks for their seven daily services, day after day, year after year, for at least five centuries (and for how much longer they had worshipped in the church which preceded this we do not know), coming first very early in the morning to pray for a sleeping world ere the spirits of evil should be abroad, and in the evening hours to close the world's activities with hymn and prayer.

But this great company, sometimes seventy or eighty monks with their servants, required dormitories, dining-halls, places for chapter meetings in which to discuss the affairs of the monastery: and for the sick and infirm. They required barns and granaries to receive tithes and to

house the products of their fields: brew and bake houses: prisons for heinous and for lighter offenses: mills for grinding corn: boats and boat houses, since they lived by the waterside and must often use the river for transportation: guest-chambers for visiting abbots, priors, royalties and other benefactors: and for poor wayfarers as well. They required an almonery from which to distribute alms to the poor and needy: a treasury to store precious vestments and gifts to shrine and altar: a sanctuary for the distressed seeking refuge—for all these, suitable buildings must be made within the precincts and hence a great group of buildings naturally grew up around all the old monasteries as around Westminster.

But this great and rich monastic establishment, while independent of diocesan control was not wholly independent. It was virtually a royal chapel, like the St. Chapelle of Paris. Directly to the east of the church, between the Abbey and that part of the Thames where the river makes a sudden bend to the south, on the site where the modern Houses of Parliament now stand, was the royal palace of the English kings in which (though the site was not precisely the same throughout), Canute, Edward the Confessor, William

the Conqueror and later kings held their state. Hence the Precincts which we study today as those of Westminster Abbey were originally included in the Precincts of the palace. And since coronations took place in the Abbey from an early period, as in a royal chapel, and are held here today as well, they are still said to occur "in our palace of Westminster," though the palace itself has long since been rebuilt elsewhere.

This wealthy Benedictine monastery had great possessions to support its establishment, not alone in various parts of what we now call London, but in ninety-seven other towns and villages: and it owned two hundred and sixteen manors, some of which still belong to the dean and chapter. We are chiefly interested, however, in the immediate environment of the Abbey, which was once far other than we see it today. A great plot of ground rich in gardens, orchards, vineyards and fields enclosed the church and the monastic buildings, extending down to the banks of the Thames and beyond. A stream of pure water, called the Mill Brook or Ditch, touching the western boundary of the Precincts near the southwest angle of that which we call today the Dean's Yard, flowed on past the orchard and the Infirm-

ary Garden to join the Thames. The Abbey mill stood at the junction of this stream and the Thames. East of the Abbey stood the king's palace, between it and the river.

The remains of all these great monastic buildings of St. Peter's are many: but comparatively few, at least few casual visitors, gain a clear idea of their location and even after months of study there is still something interesting to be learned of their location and their history. Perhaps the most direct way of coming to an understanding of the Westminster Precincts is to study them from three centres, in as many chapters: First, the Main cloister of the monks, with its Chapter House, Refectory and Dormitory: Second, The Infirmary Cloister, including the Westminster School and Little Dean's Yard: and third, the Abbot's Lodgings, including the Jerusalem Chamber and the Dean's Yard.

We begin with the most important, the most readily understood and easiest of access, and that which has the greatest amount of its original building, The Great Cloister, with its Chapter House and remains of the Dormitory and Refectory. The North and East Walks are entered from the nave.

Today this great cloister is very beautiful. The loveliness of its mediæval stones, in rich, velvety, gray-black and white, delights the eye. Nowhere in England do stones of this period so marvellously preserve their artistic appearance of age without suggestion of decay. The patient watchfulness of the guardians strengthening each falling bit, while reverently retaining all that was possible of the original stones, has secured this excellent result. All through the long English spring and early summer the rich green garth, beneath which sleep scores of the humbler monks, is starred with firm little white daisies. Birds build their nests fearlessly among the sculptured bosses and corbels or under the quaintly carved monuments, and in the niches of the great gray buttresses.

The centre of the domestic life of the monastery was this cloister with its four sides or Walks enclosing the Garth. In the East Walk sat the Abbot, the Abbey's chief officer, close by the chapter house which was the only building opening directly from the cloister, the Dormitory being in the story above. The North Walk was especially for the use of the Prior and his monks, close by the church in which so much of their time was spent.

The West Walk was given up to the Master of the Novices and his young pupils. The South Walk contained the entrance to the Refectory and other monastic offices: here was the Parlour or Common Room and here were buried the earlier abbots. The Garth, or open green in the midst, was used at an early period as a burial ground for the monks, where a silent grave stood always open awaiting the passing on of the next brother and intended as a constant reminder of mortality: later, a cemetery was provided to the east.

The cloister is again today, in some sort, a social and religious centre of the church life. Down the West Walk twice each day files the long procession of Westminster choir boys in their white robes, followed by the singing men, the dean, the canon-in-residence and other clergy, going on to service in the church, or returning by the West and South Walks, under the Confessor's Norman archway to the practice room in the Infirmary cloister beyond. Narrow little doors here and there in the most unexpected places open in the old gray walls to receive dean, precentor, organist or canon into the light, cheerful, spacious English homes which have been ingeniously carved out of the old

stone rooms once sacred to monks, of which the visitor now and then catches delightful glimpses. Boys from the Westminster School promenade up and down in pairs: the canon's wife and daughters on their way to a garden party flutter down the walk where once the monks solemnly paced and out to the Dean's Yard and the street beyond: callers are coming in to the Dean's Reception in the old Abbot's Lodgings or to the Precentor's Tea or the Organist's Luncheon in the Litlington Tower. And while the denizens of the Abbey are thus pursuing their usual, and to them familiar, round of daily life, visitors from all over the world are wandering up and down the cloister walks, gazing with keen interest on the old walls the fame of which they have heard from childhood.

The present cloister is the second on this site. Edward the Confessor provided generously for the domestic life of his monks. His cloister was probably as large as the present one: his Refectory, Dormitory, Chapter House and Abbots' Lodgings would be no less: but while considerable Norman work may be discovered here and there, the proportion is relatively small and the general aspect is that of Gothic architecture.

This cloister owes its beginning to Henry III, who carried on the East walk with its chapter house, in the Early English style, so far as the bay beyond the vestibule to the chapter house: and in the North walk so much as adjoined the bays of the south nave aisle which he lived to complete, that is, four bays from the cloister's easterly door in this North walk. At this point, in 1272, on the death of the king, the cloister rested, a mixed composition, but chiefly Norman, until Abbot Simon Byrcheston, in his brief reign of five years (1344-49) completed the East walk in the Decorated style, and dying an untimely death was buried near the work he had completed. A few years later must have been constructed the new Refectory, a spacious structure one hundred and twenty feet long and thirty-six feet wide, running above the sunny south walk, so ample and well finished that it was often used as a public hall. But the lower Norman wall arcading of the original Refectory of the Confessor was retained and careful inspection discloses some of the old Norman-dressed stones of the early work.

A great name now appears in the list of Abbots, that of Cardinal Langham (v. p. 79), who, as we have seen, gave

generously to the rebuilding of the nave. The year after his advancement to the abbacy, the Fabric Rolls show that he purchased large quantities of stone and that on the south or refectory side, building operations were being concluded with vigor, for Langham was a man of energetic habit. Vaulting is recorded in 1343 and again in 1356 and 1357. The south walk was apparently completed or nearly so, before 1362, when Abbot Langham was called to be Bishop of London.

Another vigorous building abbot now appears in Langham's room, Nicholas Litlington (v. p. 188), an illegitimate son of Edward III,* a Plantagenet by nature. During his long abbacy of four and twenty years, with the rich legacy left by his predecessor, he began to build on a grand scale, not in the nave, as the cardinal had doubtless intended, but in the monastery. He provided a noble home for the Abbot, to the west of the cloister, with the spacious withdrawing-room which we call today the Jerusalem Chamber, and other stately apartments now occupied by the dean of Westminster: a noble Hall, or Abbot's Refectory (now the dining hall for the Westminster School): he rebuilt the great Dormitory (but the Norman sub-

*Dugdale.

structure remained, as it is today): the Infirmary Hall with its chapel: a new brew house and mill: a new kitchen and various smaller offices and fittings, all provided out of the cardinal's legacy, and they were well built and handsome.

When Litlington* died in 1386, the monastery was exceedingly well housed save for those unfortunate western bays of the nave which halted their course for so many years and interfered with the west bays of the North walk of the cloister as well.

The West bays of the North walk were finally completed in Richard II's time, but in close imitation of the Early English work of Henry III, with at least one difference, viz., the earlier wall space is ornamented with arcading and tracery while the later is plain, attributed to the fact that at first the monks sat in these north seats to study: but after the little pews or carrels were built on the garth side of the walk, the benches were filled with bookcases and no ornament was needed.

The Garth or Court of the cloister has

*This abbot evidently had a penchant for carving his initials on all his works: they appear, the familiar N. L., in various arrangements in the bosses and corbels of cloisters and buildings, even in those parts which were wholly or almost wholly completed by Langham and should bear his name if any.

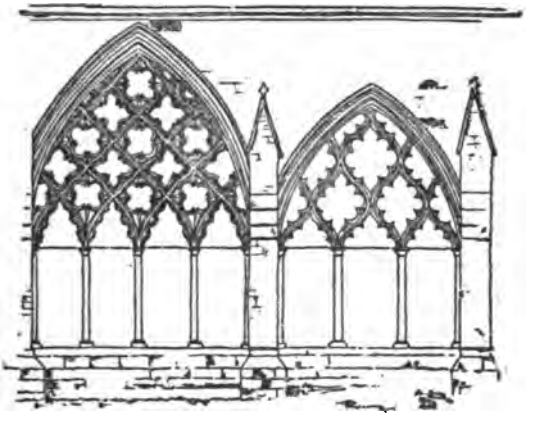
its own peculiar beauty. No mason's hand has yet been able to add a grace to the fine old green in the midst of the cloister. The grass is still "small, thick, soft and fresh of hue," as it was in Chaucer's time, and in spring is thickly starred with the fair pink and white daisies of England. Chaucer, as we know, came to spend his last days in a house within a stone's throw of this very spot, having been appointed Clerk of the Royal Works of the palaces of Westminster and Windsor in 1399. Here he died in 1400 and here in the Poets' Corner he was buried. His body, no doubt, was borne through the cloister to its last resting-place in the south transept. In this very garth the old man may have watched the spring daisies unfold, as was his wont in springtime (v. p. 205).

In this small plot, which today furnishes an excellent vantage ground for studying the nave exterior, were often built dovecots and bird-houses, as at Durham, or fountains or conduits. The Westminster monks once kept a tame stork in the garth.

The East Walk is the oldest and the most interesting part of the cloister and was built by Henry III, so far as the bay just beyond the chapter house vestibule. It is entered from the church by a little

wicket cut in the door at the east end of the south nave aisle. The location of the walk is unusual, for it occupies the room of the west aisle of the south transept, and structurally belongs within the church: but the King, in his rebuilding, did not alter the Confessor's plan in the cloister, but enlarged the transept, pushed the chapter house back and made for it a vestibule. The four bays of this walk next to the church are the oldest and plainest. The doorway opening into the nave, though much worn away, retains traces of the graceful undercut foliage, of the mouldings and hood stops, one of the latter representing a king (perhaps Henry III), and once lavishly painted and gilt. The steps down to the cloister from the church are much worn and tell of the thousands of feet that have passed down the old walk to and from the church, to coronations, consecrations, burials and pageants. The fine blank tracery of the east wall in the pure Early English style corresponds to that on the garth side. Wide stone benches run on either side. This walk, we remember, was known as the Lord Abbot's Walk. When he appeared in the cloister, the monks arose, bowed with respect, and remained standing until he passed on to the East walk. Here he kept

his "maundy" (i. e., on Maundy Thursday, he seated himself on the bench by the door and "with sundry solemn rites and signs of great humilite" washed the feet of twelve poor beggars). The tracery of the windows looking into the garth in



TRACERY IN THE EAST CLOISTER

these early bays, though plainer than in the later work in other walks, is of moulded trefoils of much beauty of design, and is scarcely less beautiful than the later work.

A small tablet in the second bay from the church always draws attention and sometimes tears, and the inscription, "Jane Lister, deare Childe," is often called one of the two finest as it is one of the two

briefest in the Abbey. It is in memory of the six-years-old daughter of Dr. Martin Lister, an ardent naturalist and author of treatises on botany and geology, who came from York to London and became Court Physician to Queen Anne. The tender short epitaph to the little daughter is duplicated on the tomb of the child's mother at Clapham church, which bears the words, "Hannah Lister, deare Wife, d. 1695." Dr. Lister wrote a treatise on shells containing over a thousand illustrations made by his two eldest daughters, Susanna and Anna. The famous Duchess of Marlborough was niece to this Dr. Lister, being the daughter of his half-sister.

There is a blue marble slab in the pavement near by to the brilliant novelist, dramatist and political spy, Mrs. Aphra Behn (d. 1689), a beautiful woman with brown hair and bright eyes, who, being early left a widow, made a profession of literature in order to gain a livelihood, and is said to have been the first woman in England to do so. She was called the George Sand of the Restoration. Her writings were admired by Dryden and were probably not less refined than others of the period. Why she should have been buried within the Abbey precincts is not very evident, unless in gratitude for her

service to her country and this seems hardly probable. In 1666, during the Dutch wars, she was sent to Antwerp by Charles II, and "here she entered with her usual spirit into various intrigues of love and politics. She penetrated the designs of the Dutch to sail up the Thames and transmitted her intelligence to the king. But it was slighted and even laughed at and the Government basely failed to reward her services." The slab is inscribed:

"Here lies a proof that wit can never be
Defense against mortality."

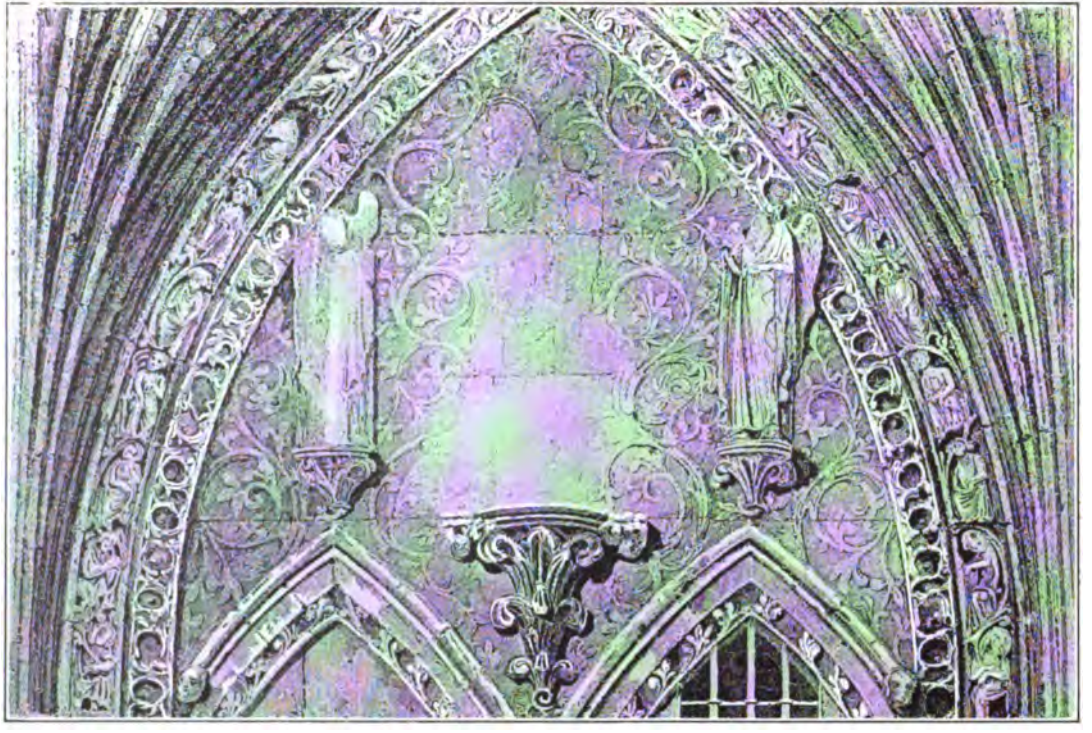
In this same walk is a slab to Mrs. Anne Bracegirdle (d. 1748), a famous actress, aet. eighty-six. She was respected both for her virtues and her talents and had such remarkable power over an audience that it was said that "she never made an exit but that she left her audience in an imitation of her pleasant countenance." She had been brought up in the family of Thomas Betterton, the tragedian, who also rests in this cloister but without a stone.

In the vault near the north end of the walk is the place of the rope for the abbot's bell. The heavy buttress projecting into the garth near by contains a staircase by which the monks went up to their Scriptorium in the transept: and close by

the foundations of a small cell have been discovered, perhaps the home of an anchorite.

Another interesting discovery in this vicinity is thus described by the late Mr. Micklethwaite: "There was a very curious house, build partly within the church, in the south transept above the cloister, and partly between the buttresses outside the same transept overhanging the cloister roof. The part within the church remained until 1895, when nearly all of it was demolished. It was two stories in height with fireplaces and a staircase. The substance of the work was of the latter part of the fifteenth century but there were fittings which told of occupation as late as the eighteenth century. Very likely it was the house of the sacrist."

There is a fine view across the garth from this point. Over the opposite south walk there is a long line of pointed windows in the old wall of the refectory, now a ruined building. At the west end of the refectory wall, walking along the roof over the cloister, you come to the arched entrance to the Abbot's Lodgings: on this roof the Dean's family sometimes invite guests to a summer afternoon tea. The east windows of the abbot's private chapel are seen from the cloister. In front of it is



DOORWAY TO VESTIBULE OF CHAPTER HOUSE

From Scott's *Gleanings.*

a small conservatory. Just beyond are some very plain plastered walls without windows, the modern chambers added to the Deanery, which is a large and handsome residence when seen from within.

The Vestibule to the chapter house opens from an enriched bay which has a lierne vault of later date than the north bays and is set with many bosses. The Norman chapter house opened directly from the walk without a vestibule: but in the Early English rebuilding the lengthened south transept extended over on to the site of the old chapter house and necessitated rebuilding much farther to the east. A narrow passage was left for a vestibule of approach, which is in the fifth bay from the church. The doorway to the vestibule is a large, rich pointed arch containing two subordinate arches, and is moulded in three orders, one of which is of very beautiful sculptured foliage, much broken away but still revealing exquisite workmanship. The second order, equally rich, was apparently a Jesse tree wrought in stone, the figures set in small ovals formed, as they often are in stained-glass windows, by a graceful twining vine. The second figure on the left represents David with his harp. The columns supporting the great arch are enriched by vertical bands of foliage which

also run around the soffits of the subordinate arches.

A large, once very beautiful, stone Bracket with foliage stem, set in the pediment of the great arch, bears the remains of an exquisite statue of the Virgin and Child, now nearly all destroyed: and on smaller brackets on either side are fragments of delicate angel figures. I find no record of this beautiful carving: it may have been wrought by that artist whose tools so cunningly carved the censing angels in the transept spandrils, and the lovely foliage of the apsidal chapels. When entire, it must have formed a beautiful decoration for the cloister and a fitting ornament for the entrance to the chapter house. A lamp was suspended from the vault directly in front of the central group, and was kept constantly burning by day and by night. All the doorway and its ornaments were once brilliant with gold and colour in which red predominated, but they are now black with age and smoke, and furnish dainty homes for many Westminster sparrows.

The Vestibule consists of an inner and an outer portion, the inner, approached by steps, leading into the chapter room. It has two aisles of three bays each, the aisles separated by three pillars, all very

old and worn. The outer portion is built low, since above it runs the passage from the old dormitory to the church beyond, as we have described in the Re-vestry (v. p. 216). There are beautiful foliage bosses in the low ceiling: the wall arcade of very sharply pointed, narrow arches rests on a low stone bench: the pavement in the south aisle has been restored: that of the north retains its deeply worn stones. The stone capitals of the small Purbeck pillars were originally attached by lead, over which was placed the stone moulding: but the expansion and contraction of the metal has damaged the stone in many places and only the lead remains. An oak doorway on the right or south leads to the Chapel of the Pyx, once used as the Monastic Treasury and has an interesting old lock: a door on the left or north leads to the chapel of St. Faith in the South transept. Here, when the Norman chapter house occupied this site, were buried Edwin, an early Abbot, the close friend of the Confessor: Hugolin, the king's treasurer, and Sulcard, the first historian of the Abbey. And in this vestibule that delightful and painstaking historian, whose volumes are a mine of wealth to later writers of history, Thomas Rymer, compiler of the *Foedera,* was ac-

customed to come and sit, when the Abbey records were kept in the chapter house, and not being permitted to enter the carefully guarded interior, the records which he wished to consult were handed out to him, one at a time, by the custodian within.

The inner vestibule, approached by a flight of steps as wide as the aisle, is loftier and of different design from the outer. Two walled-up windows on the north once furnished a little light to St. Faith's chapel. Two windows on the south are filled with glass in memory of James Russell Lowell (d. 1891), for many years Ambassador at the Court of St. James. In the larger window are pictured The Landing of the Pilgrims: Sir Launfal in rich plate armour, riding forth in search of the Holy Grail: St. John: St. Botolph and St. Ambrose. The single light window contains four pairs of angels, each bearing a shield of arms appropriate to the dedication of the window: viz., the Stars and Stripes of the American flag: the arms of Harvard University, of which Lowell was a graduate and a professor: the arms of England and those of the Confessor.

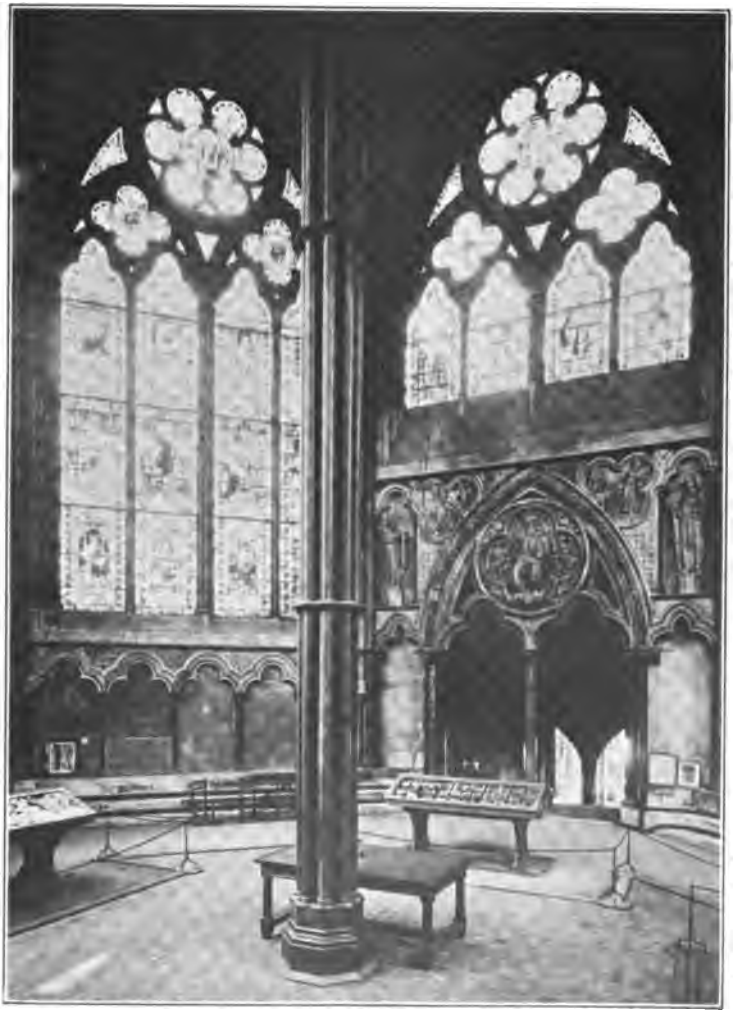
Preserved in the vestibule, but having no connection with it, is a very interesting ancient Roman stone coffin, found in 1869 five feet below the surface on the north side

of the Abbey near St. Margaret's Church. It is of special interest as one of the few Roman remains found on this site. A Latin inscription states that Marcellus and Superventor (now long forgotten but once affectionate sons) made the coffin, probably in the third century, to honour their father, Valerius Amandinus. The lid is slightly coped and terminates at the foot in a trefoil. When the coffin was found it lay due east, and contained a skeleton and some broken tiles. There is a Maltese cross on the lid, indicating early use of the cross or else it was worked in at a later period.

The Chapter House, wrote Abbot Ware in the thirteenth century, "is the Little House in which the convent meets to consult for its welfare. It is well called the Capitulum because it is the *caput litium*, the head of strife, for there strifes are ended. It is the workshop of the Holy Spirit in which the sons of God are gathered together: the House of confession, of obedience, mercy and forgiveness." To this chapter house the monks came regularly at least three times each day: First, after Prime, at five, they came in procession and listened to the reading of the Martyrologium, or account of any saint whose anniversary was to be celebrated

that day. Following this came the assignment of tasks for the day, correcting of faults and general discussion of conventual interests. At six they came for a short chapter-mass. And at five in the afternoon they came again to meet for prayer until six.

The chapter house is spacious, complete, rich in the colour of its modern windows, and well-restored. It was built by Henry III, probably about 1250: but its use as a chapter house exclusively did not long continue: for in the time of Edward III it became the regular meeting-place for the House of Commons and so continued until, in 1547, they removed to the Old Palace of Westminster. At the Dissolution of the Monastery in 1540, it passed into the hands of the Crown and has never been returned to the use for which it was originally built. The chapter now meets in the Jerusalem Chamber. The present daily guardians of the chapter house are in the employ, not of the Abbey but of the British Government. Between the years 1547 and 1865, the house was used as a storehouse for State Records. Its height was then divided by a floor: and wooden galleries and cupboards for holding papers almost entirely concealed the beauty of its arcades. The roof and all



THE CHAPTER HOUSE

the windows but one are modern. In 1865, by Dean Stanley's efforts, it was thoroughly restored.*

The room is octagonal, is fifty-eight feet in diameter (Lincoln is sixty feet and Salisbury fifty-eight feet), and has a vaulted roof fifty-six feet high, supported by a central column. Under this room is a small Norman crypt which belonged to the Norman chapter house of Edward the Confessor's church and was long used as a Royal Treasury. The walls of the chapter house are five feet thick. In six of the eight sides are large windows, modern copies of the originals, containing modern glass. A series of beautiful arcaded stone seats or stalls with trefoiled heads runs below the windows, where the monks sat in chapter: five stalls at the east end, richer than the others, were for the use of the Abbot, Prior and other officers. The fine old Tiling is almost unique in England in its age, extent and degree of preservation. Extensive remains of mural painting are seen on the north and east walls.

*"The rearing of the Abbey by Henry III compelled him to exact such enormous sums from his subjects that the House of Commons was the result. Strangely enough, in the reign of his son, Edward I, the members found here their first independent home which they continued to use until 1547."—Stanley.

The arched Doorway is chiefly modern and contains a large modern figure of our Lord in benediction. A very beautiful stone Jesse vine, or branch, similar to that at the cloister entrance of the chapter house but in a better state of preservation, runs around the door arch, beginning at the base of the arch on the south side with the figure of Jesse, and continuing over the central arch: there are no figures on the north side, however, except at the base where a tiny head of a youthful figure is evidently intended to represent our Lord. The foliage capitals of the door are deeply undercut and delicately wrought. Notice two large old statues over the door to the left and right, the faces and drapery carefully wrought: that to the left or north is the older and lifts a beautiful small hand and wears a veil: that on the opposite side of the door has a sweet young face, curling hair and holds out hands to the other. This is said to represent the Annunciation. In the spandrils of the door arch are two trefoils, each containing a pair of angels.

The graceful central Pier, rising thirty-five feet from a rich plinth and base of Purbeck, consists of a central column around which cluster eight slender Purbeck shafts. It has two sets of rings:

richly carved foliage capitals, also of hard Purbeck, and eight hooks project from the abacus, perhaps for scaffolding or tapestry.

The modern vault is of light chalk and dark stone, imitating the original early work, in the church.

The windows, on six sides, of four lights with good tracery, were carefully restored by Scott after the pattern of the blank tracery in the seventh side: there is also a small window above the door. All are now filled with modern glass, inserted as a memorial to Dean Stanley. The Subjects are connected with the history of the Abbey from its foundation. The Plan has been to represent a period of history in each window, including Saxon, Norman, Plantagenet, Lancaster, Tudor and Stuart. In the upper light of each window are represented the sovereigns of the period: in the lower lights, the abbots of the same: in the middle compartment, events of the period connected in some way with the Abbey. All the abbots are mitred, though Westminster was not a mitred abbey until the time of Laurence. The borders are copied from the original and those in the Saxon window and the Plantagenet window are especially beautiful. The window opposite the entrance

was a gift of Queen Victoria: that to the right of it was given by Americans and has the Stars and Stripes in the lower corner. We may describe them only in brief. The glass is of the usual modern sort, and the windows of interest chiefly from their subjects.

The Saxon Window, the first to the left as you enter, has for its tracery figures: Edward the Confessor, with his arms, the cross and martlets (v. p. 657): also King Edgar, and the abbot is Wulsinus. The Event is The Vision of the Confessor and the Danegelt tax: the money is in casks on one of which a little imp is dancing.

The Norman Window, the gift of Dean Stanley. The tracery figure is St. Anselm: the kings are William the Conqueror, William Rufus, Henry II and Richard I. The abbots are Galbrinus, Vitalis, Herbert and Laurentius. The events are The Coronation of William the Conqueror and the Miracle of Wulfstan's staff clinging to the tomb of the Confessor: The Conflict for Supremacy between York and Canterbury in St. Catherine's chapel in the Little Cloister: and The Gathering of Crusaders under Cœur de Lion.

The First Plantagenet Window (there are two for this period), the gift of Queen

Victoria: the Union Jack is in the corner. The tracery figure is Roger Bacon: the kings are John, Henry III (bearing a model of this church), Edward I and Edward II. The Events are The Signing of Magna Charta: Henry III examining plans for the construction of the Abbey: Alfonso, Prince of Wales, hanging the coronet of Llewelyn on the Confessor's shrine: and the placing of the Stone of Scone under the coronation chair.

The Second Plantagenet Window, the gift of Americans, having the Stars and Stripes in the lower left-hand corner. The tracery figure is Chaucer: the kings are Edward III with his queen, and the Black Prince. The Events are: The Abbot and monks of Westminster in conclave in this chapter house: the House of Commons: The Black Prince carried to Parliament: Richard II consulting the Hermit of Westminster before meeting Wat Tyler. The four abbots include Langham.

The Lancaster Window. The tracery figure is Caxton: the kings are Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI and Edward IV. The Events are the Death of Henry IV in the Jerusalem Chamber: Henry V's Council on his Accession: Henry VI choosing a place for his grave in the Confessor's chapel: and Elizabeth Woodville and her

son Richard, Duke of York, taking sanctuary at Westminster.

The Tudor Window. The tracery figure is Shakespeare: the sovereigns, Henry VII and VIII, Edward VI and Mary. The Events are: The Marriage of Henry VII, uniting the Houses of York and Lancaster: Wolsey's Convocation in the chapter house: The Dissolution of the monastery: and the Funeral of Edward VI.

The Stuart Window, over the door, the gift of Queen Alexandra. The tracery figure is Queen Victoria as a young lady: the sovereigns, Elizabeth, James I, Charles I and William III. There are no events or abbots, space being lacking.

All the windows are rich in silver glass, but none are remarkable in figures or composition. The Borders, however, are excellent, being chiefly copies of thirteenth-century borders as seen at Canterbury and elsewhere. The Wall Arcade consisting of a series of recessed stalls having trefoiled heads, each arch furnishing a seat for a monk or officer runs entirely around the room below the windows, and is approached by two steps. The five stalls at the east more richly ornamented than the others and more deeply recessed, were occupied by the Abbot, the prior, the sub-prior, and on the

extreme right and left, the prior and subprior of the cloister. Notice the central Stall of the abbot, carved with delicate ornament, over which once hung a large crucifix. Notice in the arcade carvings the Purbeck capitals of great beauty, those at the east end having deeply undercut foliage; and the diapered spandrils, the pattern usually a square figure but under the American Window are some beautiful rose sprays and a dog-tooth pattern. South of the Abbot's stall is a lovely foliage spandril.

The Mural Painting. Two distinct periods are represented in the mural paintings of the wall arcade. First, the earliest series on the east wall, dating from about the middle of the fourteenth century, evidently of Italian workmanship and representing our Lord and angels, only a few interesting fragments of which can now be made out: and Second, the bold, ambitious work of an unskillful monk, Brother John of Northampton, who, about 1460, began to fill the arcade at the left or north of the entrance with the History of St. John and scenes from his Revelation. Portions of this work have lately been restored.

The Earliest Series is among the most interesting relics of early art in this country and includes the heads clustered around

the central stall at the east together with the demi-angels at the head of the arches on the north and south walls. The central idea of the series seems to be Our Lord Explaining the Mysteries of Redemption to the Heavenly Host. The central figure of the middle arch on the east wall represents Our Lord enthroned, with hands extended showing His wounds: above and around, angels bearing the Emblems of the Passion: the other arches were probably filled with throngs of angels and seraphim expressing grief at the wounds of Our Lord. On the wings of the angels are inscribed a sort of tabular view of the Christian virtues, according to the dogma of the times, such as *"Simplex et pura intentia": "Puritas mentis": Caritas":* and *"Fidelitas."**

Only a few of these early heads, crowned with golden nimbi, can today be traced. A painted sketch placed at the foot of the stalls, represents them in their original positions. Of the fragments that remain, notice, in the central compartment, a few outlines and borders. South of the central compartment, a delicate saintly face with dark eyes, long curling hair, with a decorated nimbus, which probably represents our Lord: it is very

*Eastlake's History of Painting.

Italian in style, and the most interesting of the remaining pictures. There are heads to the right and left of this, in the same bay. In the compartment north of the central, is another beautiful head painted

A SERAPHIM

with great delicacy and feeling, having a rich nimbus and traces of similar heads grouped about it. In each arch on the north and south walls are seraphim with wings filling the spaces. "Above it stood the seraphim: each one had six wings: with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly. And one cried unto another

and said, 'Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts: the whole earth is full of His glory.' "*

The heads are of great beauty, and seem to have been painted in oil. Some figures are playing on the trombone, some on the flageolet. On the north wall, the best is in the first compartment over the commencement of St. John's history.†

The Second Series of Paintings, by the hand of Brother John, a monk of the Abbey, may be seen on the North and South walls, within and beneath the wall arcade: but the light here is usually dim, and the figures painted with care so long ago are traced with difficulty. Eastlake speaks of them as "wretched productions": but the designs are rare and interesting and they are of value as representing the art of the period and monastic interpretations of Scripture. At the top of each recess are shown the things above the earth: on the wall, scenes on the earth: on the front side of the upper stone bench, animals and things under the earth, including fish. In each bay of the arcade

*Isaiah, 6:2, 3.

†Lionel, Duke of Clarence, son of Edward III, had about this time married an Italian lady, Violante, daughter of the Duke of Milan, and since the style of painting is that of north Italy, it has been conjectured that it was through this connection that Italian artists were attracted to England.

are represented scenes from the Life of St. John or from the Revelation, and at the foot of each compartment are quaint animals, taken, no doubt, from the bestiaries, and fortunately provided by the artist with their names. "These were introduced, according to custom, with religious symbolism; every animal signifies something in connection with religious teaching." In the first bay of the left arcade is seen the Reindeer, on a red ground, with head low down to the right and an impossible extent of horns, cropping grass near the base of a tree. The name "Reynder" is in black letters above: the "Kameyl," "Lyon," "Wild Ass" and "Tam Ass" also appear. In the tree of the first bay, long-legged birds sit on nests: facing the tree, on the right of the compartment, is a roe (with the name "Ro"), lifting one foot jauntily above the flowered ground. Above this, four panels separated by a narrow red border stencilled with roses, contain:

a. St. John with gilt nimbus, wearing, as in all the succeeding pictures, a red tunic and blue mantle, being brought before Domitian. The latter has rich robes and a high-pointed tiara: the rabble is rudely urging the Saint forward: a man on the left has a ladle (for the oil of the martyr-

dom): cruel flames are underneath: one man lays hold of the Saint by the arm. The legend beneath, written on paper and glued to the wall, is a Letter from the proconsul of Ephesus to Domitian, making complaint against John "preaching the worship of a man crucified and dead."

b. In the right-hand corner, the Saint being placed in a cauldron of boiling oil: the Emperor standing by, with drawn sword, at the left, wears an ermine collar: one man on the left has a ladle: the executioner and another official are stirring up the fire and blowing it with a bellows: the Saint is in prayer: note the large, excited eyes of the man, perhaps a courtier, in the extreme left upper corner. The legend beneath tells how the Saint came out from the fire unscathed.

c. To the left, below, the Saint in a boat is being rowed to the island of Patmos. The boat has but one oarsman: the Saint holds a book with clasps: his face is sorrowful: three figures are on the shore: one, the Emperor, lays his hand on the boat: a boy with trousers rolled up seems to be pushing the boat off. A second picture, represented in the same panel according to a common mediæval custom, shows the Saint in a boat having now two rowers, and again on the land, where flow-

ers are growing: he seems to have landed by walking off on an oar, and is weeping: the red book is still in his hands: the waves are crudely pictured.

In the Second Bay, at the base, are two white animals facing each other, perhaps horses, but the names are lost and identification unsafe. A small talbot dog appears in the border in place of the stencilled roses. This series is the beginning of the scenes from the Apocalypse.

Beginning at the left upper corner (from Rev. 1: 1-3), the Saint is asleep on a rock, surrounded by water to represent an island, book in lap and an angel hand on his shoulder directs him to write and points to the next upper panels.

In the second panel (Rev. 1: 4) appear seven small Gothic churches ("The Seven Churches of Asia"), and at the door of each an angel ("The angels of the seven churches"). The Saint is composedly writing with a very large pen in a bound book.

The third picture, lower left hand, contains the Vision of Our Lord (as in Rev. 1: 13), represented seated wearing the crucifixion nimbus, a large sword in his mouth, in his right hand seven stars: in his left, a closed book: behind at the right and left seven candlesticks bearing

candles. The Saint, has fallen at the feet of our Lord and an angel stands by encouraging him to rise.

The fourth picture (lower right), our Lord in a *vesica piscis,* on a rainbow, one hand in benediction: one holds a heavy book bound in red: the feet are on a globe: seven candlesticks are around him. In the four small panels around the central one appear the four and twenty elders with gold crowns, playing on cymbals, harps and viols.

Third Bay. In the left upper corner an angel with an open book and the Saint weeping because there is no one to open the seals (Rev. 5:4):the elders at the door as if waiting. In the next picture our Lord holding the open book with seven seals, his feet on a globe: the air is filled with crowns, viols and harps which kings are casting at his feet. In the lower left, on a raised altar, a small Agnus Dei in a *vesica piscis,* has seven eyes and seven horns: beasts, emblems of the Four Evangelists appear in the spandrils and are full of eyes. In small panels, by a curious device, four bodies and twenty-four heads are made to combine and form four-and-twenty elders who have musical instruments and are singing "the new song." The lower right panel

shows our Lord bearing the book with seven seals: a lamb with rays about its head looking up: angels, beasts and birds, full of eyes, in the spandrils: very crude seraphim, in groups of three, flying down in the adjacent small panels to the ear of John; and the elders casting crowns at his feet, the air being full of them. A Dromedary appears below these pictures.

Fourth Bay. In the upper left, Death, very blithe and gay, on a white horse (Rev. 6: 2), bending his bow, the horse gaily comparisoned. Death is crowned and wears the knightly apparel of England: the Saint, with a small angel in his arms, and the book, points to Death. Below, St. Luke with his emblem, the ox, is speaking to the Saint: there are two very crude trees.

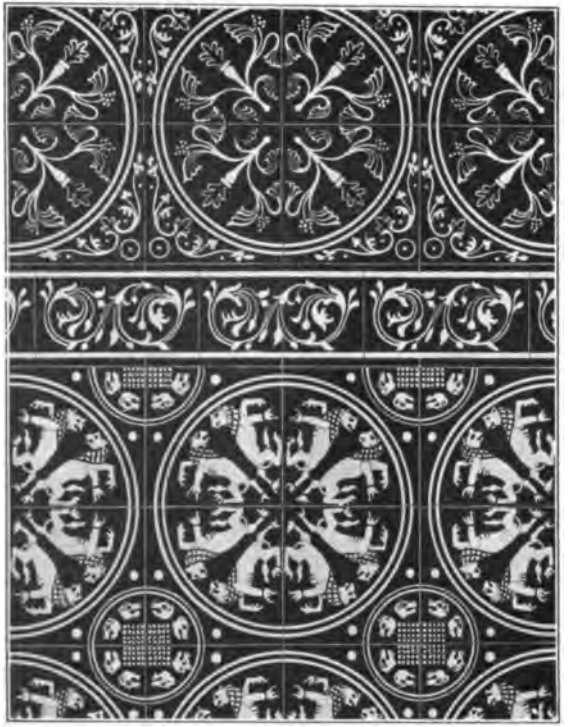
The Pavement is one of the most interesting features of the room, and is one of the finest mediæval encaustic tile pavements now remaining in England. It is nearly perfect, having been long protected by a wooden floor. A large portion is now kept under cover in order to preserve it from the passing feet of thousands of visitors: but in the vicinity of the central column many tiles may be seen that are well worth careful study, even by the hurried visitor.

The tiles are of a dull red cream colour, of the sort known as encaustic tiles in which the design is first stamped on a moist clay surface and then filled in with pipe clay and burnt. In very early tiles, one limb, at least, of an animal represented is commonly drawn separate from the body, perhaps to

A TILE

indicate motion. The square tiles vary in size from five and three-quarters to nine and one-half inches. The pavement is arranged with the tiles in parallel strips extending from east to west, the patterns changing in each strip. The date of the pavement is probably not far from 1250, as indicated by the tiles representing Henry III, his queen and the abbot, probably Abbot Ware. Many of the most interesting tiles are now under the protection of a carpet but of those nearest the central column notice:

The middle strip or band, on which the central column stands, consisting of seven small tiles in the width, having a conventional pattern enclosed within a double circle and a small cross in the spandrils. To the right or south of this is a narrow strip or border containing the very un-



CHAPTER HOUSE PAVEMENT

DOOR TO CHAPEL OF THE PYX

usual representation of a fish, the tiles being so arranged that the heads of two fish with open mouths come together, as if in conversation. This may be used as an emblem of St. Peter, the fisherman to whom the Abbey is dedicated: or as an

A TILE

emblem of the Resurrection. South of this is a band of tiles in which four unite to form a square on which is inscribed a double circle filled with hooded griffins dancing in pairs. The spandrils have double circles enclosing grotesque heads. To the right of this strip, being the third from the centre, is a border of very narrow tiles having a delicate foliage pattern.

The next strip is formed by four tiles on which are represented the arms of England, three lions *passant:* and in the spandrils below, two centaurs, one bearing a lance, the other a spear: one crowned, the other wearing a low conical cap with a cross on top and both regard the lion

with scorn. A grotesque bird is above each figure.

Next are narrow, delicate tiles decorated with delicate foliage: next, circles on four square tiles having centre and border of conventional design. In this strip, about half way down, a trifle to the east of a point opposite the central pillar, may be seen two of the curious Musicians' Tiles, in which a tall standing figure plays with a realistic bow on a violin, while a seated figure plays the harp. North of the central strip, the same patterns appear, with some variation. These descriptions are perhaps sufficient to indicate the general effect of the pavement. Many other curious subject tiles break in the regular patterns: Edward the Confessor appears with the Pilgrim: Henry III and his queen, Eleanor: and an abbot—not improbably Abbot Ware, who superintended the Sanctuary pavement and possibly this as well. Many of these designs were copied by Minton for use in the modern pavement of the Temple church.

The Crypt beneath the chapter house (not shown) is vaulted, has a central pillar which is hollowed out as if for the concealment of valuables and contains a recess for an altar, with piscina, locker and

traces of a screen. It was long filled up with rubbish. Its walls are seventeen feet thick: those of the chapter house are five feet. The crypt was long used as a Royal Treasury.

Continuing the east walk beyond the chapter house, a fine old stone doorway directly south of the vestibule opens into a passage which contains the Day Stairs leading to what was once the Monk's Dormitory above. It is a double door with good hinges and lock, set under a well-proportioned arch with traceried head. The two worn steps remain.

The great Dormitory building which ran above this walk is now divided into two large rooms, the northmost, entered from these stairs, containing the Chapter Library while the southern part is the great School Room of the Westminster School. The original room was necessarily a large one and extended over the east walk of the cloister, beyond the chapter house, and over and beyond that passage which leads to the Infirmary Cloister. The passage which led from the Dormitory over the chapter house vestibule, and to a stone gallery at the west end of the chapel of St. Faith, has already been referred to.

The Library, once rich in manuscripts,

was originally kept in The Tower of the Cloister, probably that to which the staircase in the heavy stone buttress north of the chapter house gave access, and which was in turn a prebendary's residence, a library and an armoury. It was left to John Bradstaw during the Commonwealth, who repaired it, and it was finally demolished by Wren in 1711 during a restoration. "The last remains of it were the chambers which till a few years ago blocked up the south part of the Muniment Room (in the south transept triforium). Under the great round arch outside the Muniment Room can still be seen the holes for beams which carried a floor."*

The library was founded by Bishop Williams who gave it two hundred and thirty manuscripts, but all but one of these were destroyed by fire in 1694.

A plain rude door beyond that to the dormitory leads to the sub-structure of the dormitory, the northern bays of which have long been known as the Chapel of the Pyx. This, however, is but a small part of the exceedingly interesting vaulted chamber called the Undercroft, or Substructure, probably the earliest Norman work of Edward the Confessor, and the

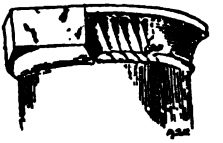
*Dean Robinson.

THE CHAPEL OF THE PYX

only considerable portion of his work remaining to us today.

It consists of seven and a half low vaulted stone bays, or about one hundred and ten feet from the vestibule of the chapter house to the cross passage, in the dark Cloister at the south and is precisely similar in location, as it was in its use, to the sub-structures in the east cloisters of Canterbury and of Durham. The original low vault remains in one bay and is groined but not ribbed. Four heavy round columns, three feet six inches in diameter and three feet four in height, having abaci seven or eight inches deep, divide the long room down through the centre and support the round arches. For many years this interesting Norman structure of the Confessor was shut off from view, a part of it filled with rubbish, a part used as a gymnasium: but recently the partitions which divided it have been removed and the whole thrown into one long and interesting chamber. The bay nearest the vestibule has been encroached upon and is in reality only a part of a bay. The famous Chapel of the Pyx occupied the next two bays which were partitioned off for use as a monastic Treasury when Henry III rebuilt the church. Some early carver had begun to work a pattern

on the capital of the central column. A stone altar, perhaps that dedicated to St. Dunstan, set in front of the east window still remains, the only stone altar *in situ* of the many once dedicated in the Abbey,



UNFINISHED CAPITAL

that of Henry V's chantry being of Purbeck. It has a circular inset which may have been for the insertion of a relic, like that in the Jesus chapel at Norwich cathedral, and in numerous other mediæval chapels: or for the use of a coin on the old altar slab at the time when the testing of government coins was made here.

The remains of a second altar may be seen in the southeast corner of the chamber, and a pillar-piscina. A small recess in the second column from the north also indicates the place of an altar (as at St. Albans: in the columns of the retro-choir at Hereford; at Winchester, in the north transept; and in the Norwich nave), where a painting or image set on a column of an arcade served as the reredos for a small altar.

Many fragments of early architecture have been collected and placed here for preservation and from among these, at the south end of the chamber, "a tentative reconstruction" of three arches of an old Norman arcade has been set up. Painted decoration may be traced on several of the old arches. The bosses are three in number and are of later date than the chapel, one representing The Judgment of Solomon, a favourite subject with sculptors in the Middle Ages.

While the room was partitioned off and used for the Trial of the Pyx, it was under the Government charge, and most sedulously guarded against intrusion. The door from the cloister opens, not into the chapel itself, but into a narrow passage or vestibule from whose north wall a solid door opened into this little chamber. This latter door had seven locks, each having a different key, and was never opened except by Government permission. Once in five years one of the officers, armed with the seven keys, came for the trial of the Pyx.*

Among the curiosities collected here from various parts of the Abbey, none are

*The Catholic Guide says that in the time of Henry III, when the church was being rebuilt on a grand scale, this chapel was used as a mint. The altar stone was then taken away and another stone laid in its place and on this stone the metal was

so striking, one might almost say, none so shocking, as the series of Wooden Effigies of English kings and queens, long dead, which served as lay figures, dressed in proper robes to be carried or borne on funeral biers at royal funerals, and it is to these, not to the wax effigies in the Islip chapel, that the term Ragged Regiment is so fittingly applied. Some are carved from a single block of wood, others have separate jointed arms and legs. All are hollowed out at the back. Some had only a head of wood on a wooden pole or else their bodies were made of hay or straw. All were once richly dressed but now are a shabby company, looking ashamedly down, one fancies, on the dismantled bodies. After being carried in the funeral procession, these effigies were usually set up in glass cases beside the grave or hearse, and so remained for months or even years. The hands and faces were often painted on *gesso,* some portions of which remain today. The faces of some are of great interest because so evidently

melted. The circular stone or inset which remains is a depression of about a half inch depth and one can see where the metal ran out. In this chapel were kept tallies. . . . small pieces of wood marked with notches which expressed a certain sum of money. These were used as receipts by the king's treasurers. The Pyx is now kept in the Royal Mint.

being portraits taken from life. That of Edward III shows a high forehead with long face, resembling that of the effigy on his tomb, the face and neck covered with *gesso* and deprived of nearly everything in the way of drapery save a fragment of a red velvet mantle and a fur tippet.

The head of Anne of Bohemia, Richard II's first queen, has the head covered with *gesso* and traces of its painting, and the hair once hung in heavy plaits which are carved on the wood and were once painted. The poor, dilapidated remnant of the figure of the gentle Elizabeth of York, Henry VII's queen, was stuffed with straw: the face is rounded and delicate and the hands beautiful. The effigies of Katherine of Valois and Anne of Denmark are fairly complete: but James I is a headless wreck, partially clothed, and Henry, Prince of Wales, on whom so much affection was once lavished, the elder brother of Charles I, is a bare trunk. The effigy of Henry VII is perhaps the most interesting of all on account of the well-wrought face and head, evidently taken from life and perhaps the best portrait that remains to us of this great king.*

*These effigies were shown, with the wax effigies, in the 17th century; and later, for a small fee which

Returning to the cloister from this little excursion into the eleventh century, it is of much interest to note, around and beyond the door to the dormitory, the difference between the early masonry of the Confessor's wall with its wide joints and Norman-dressed stones, and the later masonry of Henry III's time, marking the junction of the old and new work. Also, on the old bluish Norman stones near the doors of the undercroft, many Mason's Marks, used then as now by masons to mark the stones which they had dressed: among these are the arrow and the Maltese cross. Notice also the diagonal marks of the hatchet with which the Norman stones were dressed.

In front of the sub-structure we are in the midst of the later work of the cloister, perhaps wrought by Abbot Byrcheston.

was one of the perquisites of the Choirmen. An old doggerel rhyme called "Brother Popperwell's Tombs in Westminster Abbey," describing this exhibition contains these lines:

Henry the Seventh lies here entombed with his fair queen beside him:
He was the founder of this chapel, Oh! may no ill betide him:
And here they stand upright in a press, with their bodies made of wax,
A globe and a wand in either hand and their robes upon their backs.

The effigies of the first Tudor king and his queen were probably standing by their tomb as late as 1643. Not all of these effigies are now shown.

Note the beautiful tracery of the cloister arcade on the garth side and the enriched vaulting.

A small, blocked-up window of two lights over the arched entrance at the south end of this east walk has a square oak frame and underneath a large stone bracket evidently intended for a lamp. The window opens into a chamber having a fireplace, and was perhaps intended for the use of monks who watched the cloister at this point near the monastic treasury by the chapter house door: the Royal Treasury being also near by, in the crypt beneath the chapter house. The bracket is of one piece with the stone in the wall behind it: the capitals of the Southwell chapter house are so carved. Monks who were appointed to watch the cloister by day and report any irregularities were called The Spies of the Cloister: this room may also have served their use.

The South Walk of the Great Cloister, to which we now return, is of fourteenth century date (1351-1366), and, after the East walk, is the most interesting of the four. It has the advantage of being accessible at all daylight hours, the east, west, and north walks being closed to visitors during service in the church: but this South walk, by which the residences of

the precentor, organist, the sub-dean and other clergy are entered, must of necessity be kept open for their use. Entering the cloister from Victoria Street by the archway leading into the Dean's Yard, turning sharply to the left, and passing under another great arch, you are very soon in this South walk.

This was the sunniest walk, that nearest to the outer world: it contained the refectory running above it and approached by stairs: and it was the honoured place of burial of the early abbots. Up and down this sunny walk we can picture the Benedictine monks in their long black robes and hoods, passing on their way to dormitory or refectory, to church or to chapter, in a round of life which, as we study their old haunts today, seems picturesque, partly because unknown and mysterious, but which was doubtless commonplace enough and perhaps monotonous to many.

The Confessor's Norman south walk stood here, but as we have seen, it was rebuilt in Cardinal Langham's time, and Abbot Litlington, his successor, who built so magnificently from Langham's generous legacy, has carved his initials (N L) on the bosses, which he very likely completed. All the lower part of the old Norman wall was left standing except where doors

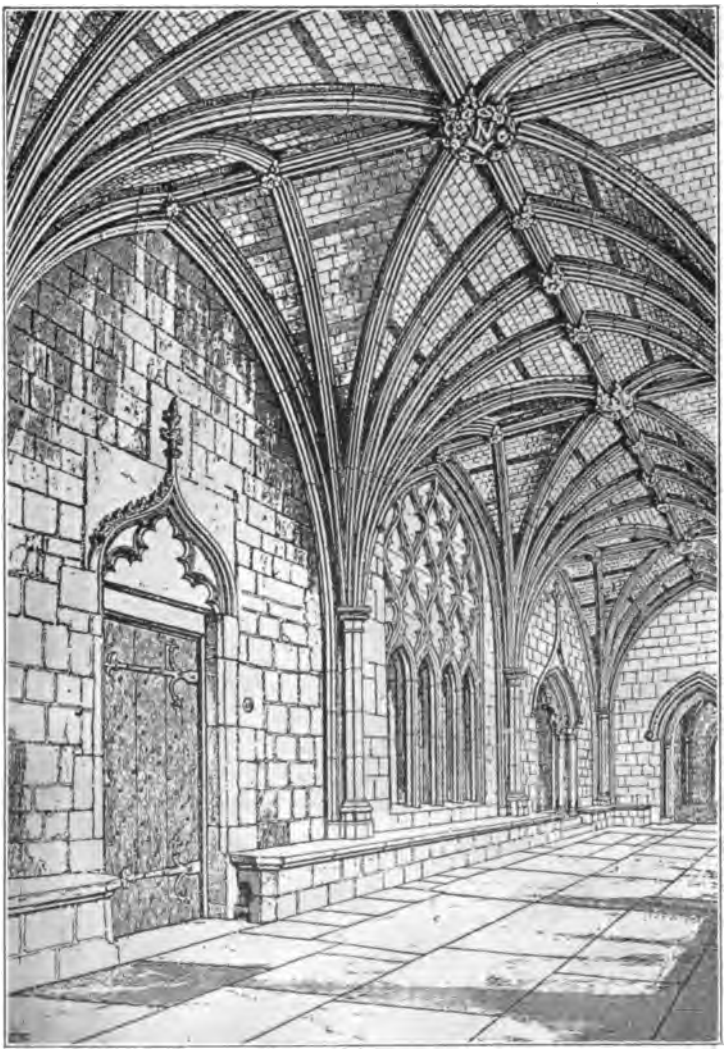
and vaulting shafts had to be inserted, no doubt because it formed the north wall of the great Refectory at the back and was still in excellent condition. Beautiful tracery was provided for the open arcade looking into the garth. A stone bench doubtless always found place here. Roman tiles are inserted here and there in the Norman masonry.

The great Refectory which ran above this walk, originally Norman having a great crown of lights suspended from its timber roof and on the wall a painted Majesty to which all passing must bow, was a noble hall, one hundred and thirty feet long and thirty-eight feet wide, and so handsomely constructed that it was often made use of as a public meeting-place for secular purposes. It was said to be little inferior to the old Westminster Hall across the way, and the first session of the House of Commons occurred here and was later transferred to the chapter house. The kitchens and other offices were in the rear. In the Norman refectory Henry III held a Council of State in 1244: here Edward I, in an assembly of ecclesiastics and laymen, made his astonishing demand for a subsidy of half the possessions of the Abbey, which demand so overcame the Dean of St.

Paul's that he fell dead at the king's feet while attempting to remonstrate. Here the Commons met to consider the impeachment of Edward II's unworthy favourite, Piers Gaveston, and here, so late as 1460, the Commons held counsel as to the title of the Duke of York.

Two beautiful Doors were made to approach the new refectory of Langham's time, one near the west end of the walk, the other to the east. That to the west is under a very beautiful ogee arch, called by Sir Gilbert Scott the finest arch in the entire Abbey. Between the two doorways, conveniently placed to the Lavatory in the west walk, is the towel-place or Manutergia, consisting of four small, richly arched recesses having reticulated tracery in the large containing arch above, an ornamental feature of the walk. The traces of a locker may be seen at the back of the recess, and probably indicate the cupboard where the supply of linen was kept "swete and clene" for the monks to dry their hands on before going up to dinner in the Refectory.

The vaulting in this walk is beautiful not only for its intricate design of ribs and cross ribs, a rich lierne vault with fine bosses, but for the rich pearly gray and black of its old worn stones. The slender



SOUTH CLOISTER WITH TOWEL PLACE AND REFECTORY DOOR

From Scott's *Gleanings.*

vaulting shafts rest on the stone bench, and are much worn away but still graceful and beautiful.

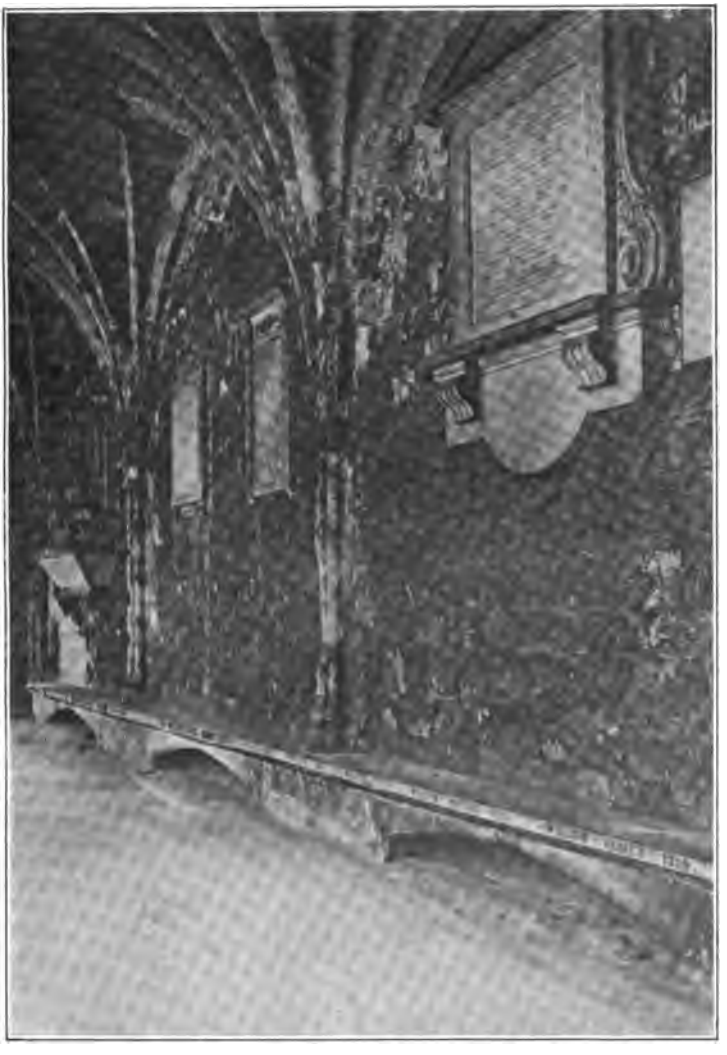
From the west end of this walk is a noble view of the nave exterior and its strong, wide flying buttresses, standing well out into the garth and reaching out their three strong stone arms from each support, one to sustain each story of the nave. From here we see the plain beginnings of a central tower, which, after all, is only a reproduction of the original plain beginning, rebuilt after the fire of 1807, and could not have been a noble tower if completed after the present indications of its design. And from here we see the exterior of that somewhat mysterious tall tower-like buttress, sometimes called the turret buttress, in the east walk, containing the spiral staircase, lighted by many small windows and leading on to the old chambers in the triforium of the transept. The spherical triangular windows of the nave, giving light to the triforium, but not seen from within the nave, are visible from this point.

In the pavement of the east bay a large blue marble slab, eleven feet long, is incorrectly inscribed with the name of Abbot Gervase de Blois (d. 1160), a natural son of King Stephen; and is also attributed

to Abbot Byrcheston (who completed this part of the east walk) and twenty-seven of his monks, all of whom were swept away, within a brief space, during the terrible plague of 1348, and all, according to the record, were committed to a common grave in this walk.

Near by are three very interesting Stone Effigies which formed the coffin lids of three early abbots, the oldest gravestones in the Abbey and commemorating three of the oldest names. The stones were originally set with their coffins, in the midst of the pavement, but becoming much worn by the feet of passers-by, as century after century went on, they were removed in 1752 and placed beneath the stone bench for protection. At that time the names of eight abbots who ruled the monastery in the years immediately following the Conquest and known to have been buried in this walk, were cut on the ledge of the stone bench, where they now remain.

The three effigies are of peculiar interest from their early date; no sepulchral statue of a date prior to the Conquest being known to exist in England today. (Flaxman.) Which of the eight abbots they represent is not known, the names inscribed above them being obviously in-



THE ABBOTS' EFFIGIES IN THE SOUTH CLOISTER

correct since the middle effigy is evidently the oldest. Dean Robinson names them Laurence Gislebert and Humez, and this is probably correct as to the three, since in the list of burials these are the only ones named to whom effigies are attributed. Only one is now thought to wear a mitre: but Dart, writing in 1723, says that two had mitres, and so represents them in his engraving (but the mitres in his engraving are of much later date than the effigies). Stanley doubted the existence of a mitre on the figure supposed to represent Laurence: and there is no reason to suggest one since, although it was through this abbot's exertions that the privileges of a mitred abbey were secured for Westminster, he did not live to enjoy the privilege.

The central, apparently the oldest effigy, then, probably represents Gislebert or Gilbert Crispin (d. 1114), a Norman of distinguished family, his father, a favourite of William the Conqueror, his mother, the Lady Eva. He had been a monk of the famous abbey of Bec where he had Anselm and Lanfranc for his instructors, and came with the latter to England. As a theological writer and a just and pious abbot for thirty-two years, his name was long remembered at Westmin-

ster: and when the monks prepared his epitaph they placed *mitis* (gentle) first among his good qualities. He had travelled much in foreign lands and wrote a Life of Herluin of Bec and homilies on The State of the Church and The Fate of the Devil: but that which gave him contemporary fame was his Dispute between a Jew and a Christian, founded on personal experience, which is said to have converted a London Jew. His letters to and from Anselm and Lanfranc still remain to us. His second name was applied on account of his crisp or curling hair. The slab on which his effigy is carved is of black marble from Tournai, and is the oldest sculptured monument in the Abbey. The features have been obliterated by the passing feet of many generations but the head is well defined; the hand grasps a pastoral staff: the feet are simply blocks.

Laurentius (d. 1176) is generally thought to be represented in the figure called mitred, the effigy being probably the next latest in date. Laurentius was of Norman birth, a man of piety, learning and generosity, who is named among the minor theological writers of the early church. "His sermons for various times and festivals of the year are still preserved at Balliol College." He was a

favourite of the Empress Maud, at whose request he wrote a life of Henry I "in an elegant stile." He had been a monk of St. Albans and Prior of Durham and brought great advantage to the Abbey. His much worn effigy is in high relief (no slab showing), has a beardless face, and was evidently vested, the amice, mitre, part of the crozier and the apparel of the alb still remaining: the hands are gone. It was this abbot who, when the Confessor's tomb was opened at the Translation, removed the rich royal robes embroidered by the Queen and caused them to be made into copes for the monastery, providing fair new robes for the King.

Abbot Humez (d. 1222), the last of the Norman abbots, is probably represented in the third effigy. He came from St. Stephen's, Caen, was much esteemed by King John, and was probably the first of the Westminster abbots to be employed as an ambassador by an English sovereign. Of the other abbots whose names are inscribed on the ledge, Vitalis (d. 1085), was a man of extraordinary learning, a successful abbot at Bernay and brought over to Westminster by the Conqueror. Of Gervase, Matthew Paris tells us that he miserably impoverished the Abbey, giving its lands to relatives and

confiscating its jewels; the Pope issued a Bull warning him to regulate his life and conduct.

Three infant daughters of Samuel Wesley, the elder brother of the more famous founders of Methodism, are remembered by a slab in the pavement of this walk, bearing their names, Milly, Ursula and Susanna (d. 1720-1731). Their father was a master in the Westminster School, attracted thereto "by his friendship for Dean Atterbury and also by the strong Jacobite tendencies which he inherited from his mother."—Stanley. His younger brother Charles was a member of his household in the Abbey precincts, and, by his brother's kindness, a student in the School, going thence to Christ Church as a Westminster scholar.

Buried in this Walk towards the west, close to the richest of the two old refectory doors (that with the beautiful ogee arch), lies the venerable Thomas Wright (d. 1906), for nearly forty years the faithful, trusted, intelligent Clerk of the Works. His interesting office and workshop were just within this fine old door: his good gray head—he died at eighty-three—was a familiar and pleasant sight to any student of the Abbey's treasures. No one who knew him can soon forget his

rich Yorkshire speech, his eager, alert attention to the least duty that came in his path, his great kindness in assisting any who needed his aid, and his sincere love for the Abbey, which he helped to preserve with the greatest care. *Requiescat in pace.* He lies, as is fitting, by the door which he so often passed on his many daily errands.

Musio Clementi of Rome (d. 1832), has a large slab with inscription, in this Walk, placed by his grandchildren in Dean Stanley's time. This famous musical composer, whose *Gradus ad Parnassum* has long been familiar to students of music, and who was called the Father of the modern Pianoforte on account of his helpful studies in the department of musical practice, had lived for some time in England and here he died.

The West Walk is of Litlington's time (1363-1386). The walls of the south and west walks were lavishly decorated with religious paintings, and in the latter there was a Crucifixion, "curiously painted and very pitiful to behold." In the west walk the Master of the Novices sat with his pupils, the beginning of the Westminster School. Along this walk the Westminster scholars now stand on Sunday, in their white surplices, and salute the Canon and

extends: the two western bays probably by Abbot Litlington, who copied the earlier work, even in small details. "At the corners where they resumed the style of their own period we find an Early English and a Perpendicular capital cut by them on the same block of stone and their mouldings intersect."—Scott.

In the North walk sat the Prior and his monks, and here they read and studied, perhaps sometimes looking across to the sunny South walk where rose the refectory suggesting the comforts for which their fasting bodies must sometimes have longed. The long line of wall and the blocked-up windows of the refectory may still be seen, and on the roof of that south walk the dean's family sometimes entertain guests for tea.

The difference in height between the fifth and sixth bays of this north walk, where the old and new work meet, is cleverly veiled by beautiful tracery.

Few monuments of general interest are seen in this walk. Mrs. Cibber and Mrs. Ann Crawford, the tragic actresses, are here buried. And here, but with no stone ever placed to his memory, lies the famous General Burgoyne (d. 1792), "whose surrender at Saratoga lost America to England." He was the only son of

Captain Burgoyne, a man of fashion, and was educated at the Westminster School. He eloped with the sister of his most intimate friend, Lady Charlotte Stanhope, daughter of the eleventh Earl of Derby, who died while he was in America. He had a varied career, having been a playwright before entering the army, and his "Maid of the Oaks" was produced at Drury Lane by Garrick in 1775. He was sent to America in 1774 to reinforce General Gage. His surrender at Saratoga brought him into great disfavour at home. Thackeray, in "The Four Georges," writes of Burgoyne "tripping down St. James street on his way to beat the Americans and slinking back crestfallen after his defeat." Some thought him ill-used. He had few friends and though he received some appointment, the last being the manager of the Impeachment Trial of Warren Hastings in 1787, yet he soon retired to a literary and social life. He died in 1792 at the age of seventy and was buried in this cloister. When the four children who were borne him by a popular singer came of age they would have placed a stone to his memory, but the place of burial could not be ascertained.

CHAPTER XXV

THE DARK CLOISTER, THE INFIRMARY CLOISTER, LITTLE DEAN'S YARD, AND THE WESTMINSTER SCHOOL

THE Infirmary Cloister and the Little Dean's Yard in which the Westminster School is situated, are approached from the southeast angle of the main cloister by a long, plain Norman passage of the Confessor's early work, running by the Norman Undercroft, called the Dark Cloister. It is simply a very plain, wagon-vaulted Norman aisle. The vault is without groins or ribs and is formed of tufa laid in rubble work still showing the centering on the mortar, but now whitewashed over, concealing all trace of its age. It runs along by the side of the Norman Undercroft and is of the same period. The thickness of its wall is shown by the deep splay of the small window on our right. This now very plain and even rude passage was once the King's private entrance to the Abbey from his palace.

THE INFIRMARY CLOISTER

From a photograph by S. B. Bolas.

The Dark Cloister leads directly on to the Little Dean's Yard, to be visited later, and, by a passage turning sharply from the main walk to the left, to the old Infirmary buildings. The latter passage runs directly under the old Monks' Dormitory, which, we remember, was very long and extended far beyond the east cloister itself. The passage is of the same general style and dimness as the Dark Cloister. To the right, a small, pleasant low doorway bears the name of the Abbey organist, and leads to a quaint and beautiful set of chambers four stories high, called, but not very fitly, the Litlington Tower, for it was built at least a century later than Litlington's time. It abuts on the southeast corner of the dormitory and has a beautiful outlook into the cloister beyond. Whatever its proper designation, the tower is supposed to have had a bell for summoning to service in the Infirmary chapel.

The Infirmary or Little Cloister to which this passage leads at once attracts the eye most agreeably by the pleasant little fountain playing in its midst all day long, with a sweet voice, under the shade of drooping tree branches. Birds flit in and out all through the day to bathe in the fountain or sip its pleasant waters.

It is one of the quietest and loveliest corners of the Abbey Precincts. The great conduit of the monastery once stood where the fountain plays.

None of the buildings surrounding the court are of the original date, though fragments of early work remain: the court has been rebuilt in a plain Renaissance style, with inconspicuous buildings, chiefly residences for the clergy, and scarcely suggests monastic life. Originally, a noble group of buildings devoted to the uses of the sick and infirm, the monastic Infirmary, stood here: and there was a beautiful large garden, beside the chapel, refectory and the great hall for the sick. The garden remains, but is now private and not open to visitors. The only trace of the original buildings is seen in the east walk, directly opposite us as we enter the cloister, where a beautiful arched Doorway (rebuilt c. 1370 by Litlington) once gave access to the Infirmary chapel. The sculptured foliage which decorates the decayed mouldings, and the traceried and carved spandrils are as beautiful as any stonework to be found in the entire Abbey.

The Door is now the entrance to a spacious private residence for one of the canons, which is not shown to visitors. It contains fragments only of the Infirmary

chapel including piers below ground. The Hall was a large structure, much like that of St. Mary's at Chichester, which stands today and is in use. It had a central and side aisles where beds for the sick were placed: and at the east (as in Chichester) a chapel for use of the sick, who, in their beds, could hear much of the service. This chapel was dedicated to St. Catherine, and there still remain some traces of its altar and the encaustic tiles of its platform, much overgrown with the grass of centuries. It was in this chapel that occurred the famous dispute for precedence between the Archbishops of Canterbury and of York, when Roger of York, believing that he had the better right to the place of honour in the assembly, "sat down in Canterburie's lap." Here, in 1252, a solemn ratification of the Magna Charta, granted by his father, King John, was made by Henry III, in the presence of St. Edmund of Canterbury. The chapel was pulled down as useless in 1571.

The door south of the chapel leads to a private residence occupied in Queen Mary's time by Abbot Feckenham. The top arch of red bricks over the door is of his period and reminds us of that brief return to monastic life which came to the dissolved monastery in the time of Cather-

ine of Aragon's only daughter. The door at the end of this walk led out to the Infirmary's beautiful, large garden, now called the College Garden, and private.

In the West Walk by which we entered the cloister, a small barred window looks into what was the monastery sewer and on to the old prison wall. The narrow windows between this and the door look into the organist's kitchen in Litlington Tower, where the maid is preparing a tart for the organist's dinner. Beyond the door, in this same walk, is an old room now used for practice by the boys of the choir. A tablet near this door bears a quaint epitaph in memory of Mr. Thomas Smith (d. 1664, aet. twenty-four), a Christ Church student, who "through the spotted veil of the small pox rendered a pure and unspotted soul to God." Another tablet was put up by the dean and chapter to the memory of a little choir boy "who spent five years of his short life in the choir school and delighted all who heard him sing by his exceptionally beautiful voice."

Retracing our steps from the Infirmary Cloister down the old passage, and, instead of returning to the Great Cloister, turning to our left, and entering the continuation of the Dark Cloister we find

that it leads on to a small open court called the Little Dean's Yard, so named (with no reflection on the physical proportions of the dean) to distinguish it from the larger Dean's Yard lying beyond it to the west, entered under the archway on the opposite side. This is the quadrangle around which are now grouped the various buildings of the Westminster School for Boys. The usual entrance to the quadrangle is by the old archway from the Dean's Yard, with a tower above it, built in Litlington's time and called the Blackstole Tower.

On the north side of the Yard, to our right as we enter from the cloister, stands a building now known as Ashburnham House, on the site of the old Misericorde of the monastery, in which meat and other indulgences of food or drink were served by special favour. The house was almost entirely rebuilt in 1662 by Inigo Jones, and since its occupancy in 1708 by Lord Ashburnham it has borne his name. It is now the property of the School and contains class rooms. There is a fine iron railing, and a noble staircase and drawing-room by Inigo Jones.

North of this house stands the interesting north refectory wall, forming the south walk of the Great Cloister, its lower

Norman story retaining its round-arched wall arcade with cushion capitals. The upper story, rebuilt by Litlington, has delicate two-light traceried windows with a transom and a range of stone brackets to support the roof, upheld, these many years, by staunch little demi-angels bearing arms and books.

The Great Hall of the Westminster School, on the east side of the quadrangle, with its heavy projecting classic stone portico, is a part of the old Dormitory of the Norman monks, built in the Confessor's time, but much altered in later years. As we have seen in visiting the East walk of the Great Cloister, the Dormitory ran above it. The Hall is accessible except during school hours, but contains few of its original features.

The Westminster School, practically founded by Henry VIII but re-founded in 1560 by Queen Elizabeth, had its inception in the school for the Novices in the west walk of the cloister, maintained for centuries, no one knows how many. A master to teach grammar was employed for the school in the time of Edward III and a headmaster was employed in 1543, when the school numbered forty pupils. Its connection with the Abbey has always been intimate. After its re-founding, the

LITTLE DEAN'S YARD—FROM AN OLD PRINT

scholarships were at first bestowed by ballot of the dean and chapter. At Oxford and at Cambridge, twenty scholars and the payment of the Royal professorships were charged to the Westminster chapter. For a long time the dean and prebendaries dined in College Hall with the masters. The connection today between the school and chapter is much less close than formerly.

The school was at first located in the old granary of the monastery which proving "too low and too little," a part of the Dormitory was altered and equipped for its use. Dr. Richard Busby, the famously stern headmaster for fifty-seven years (1638-1695), the greatest headmaster of his century, brought Westminster to a high degree of efficiency and it was said that in his time no dunce or unlearned man ever went out from the school. He once apologized to Charles II for failing to remove his hat in the king's presence, saying that it would never do to let the boys think there was any greater man in England than himself.

The school consists of over 200 scholars, forty of whom are "Foundationers" and called Queen's Scholars: the rest are Oppidans, or Town boys. The long sequence of carved initials indicate the old

foundation. Among the names of those here educated are Ben Jonson, Dryden, Cowper, Southey, Christopher Wren, Locke, Warren Hastings, Charles Wesley, George Herbert and Froude. On Sunday, the Westminster Scholars appear in their surplices at the Abbey services. Among the ancient prerogatives which they claim at coronations is that of vocal assent in unison to the election of the sovereign, a service which they perform with unparalleled zest and delight.

THE SCHOOL ROOM

(From an old print).

DR. BUSBY

CHAPTER XXVI

THE ABBOT'S COURTYARD, THE JERUSALEM CHAMBER AND THE DEANERY

IN order to reach the Jerusalem Chamber and the Deanery, both of which are situated in the Abbot's Courtyard, the visitor walks down the south cloister, past the old abbots and their three effigies: past the place of the towels and the rich door to the refectory: and a sharp turn to the right, near the end of the passage, brings him to the little porch in front of the dean's door (deanery not shown), and on to the Abbot's Courtyard which leads to the Jerusalem Chamber.

The Passage by which we have come really consists of two passages, called the Inner and the Outer Parlour of the monastery: the Inner used for receiving special guests: and the Outer, for secular visitors with whom business of a worldly nature was to be transacted. Above the Inner Parlour was the Abbot's private chapel: above the Outer Parlour and the Gatehouse by which it was entered, was the Abbot's camera, or show-study, as it was called, now used by the dean's fam-

ily as a drawing-room, a very stately and handsome apartment. On the left of the Outer Parlour is now the Lodge of the Portress who shows to visitors the Jerusalem Chamber.

The Abbot of Westminster had spacious Lodgings, as they were called, resembling in general plan a small castle, having a great Hall, a refectory, a chapel, an oratory, parlours for distinguished guests and all the offices necessary to a large establishment. When the Abbey was refounded, and a dean took the abbot's place, the series of buildings was divided into three separate apartments: the great drawing room became the Jerusalem Chamber: the refectory was made into a dining hall for the Westminster School, now called College Hall, while the remaining buildings constituted The Deanery.

"On the south side Dean Goodman hath his mansion house, whereunto adjoyneth fayre cloisters, lardge lodgings, pleasaunt walks and many ancient buyldinges which in time paste, have been held in great price in regarde of the delights they dyd administer unto abbot, munkes and fryers, who were removed thence about the time of Henry VIII."*

*(Notes on London and Westminster by John Norden in 1592.) The external appearance of these

The Jerusalem Chamber, approached by a flight of steps on the further side of the little paved court called The Abbot's Courtyard, is, as we have seen, the old withdrawing room of the Westminster abbots. A small panelled room called the Jericho Chamber, wainscoted throughout in the linen-fold pattern, serves as a vestibule to the larger chamber beyond, and was built by Abbot Islip. A small niche in this room contains a holy water stoup.*

"Through Jericho we pass to Jerusalem." The famous Jerusalem Chamber is a fourteenth century, rectangular room, thirty-six by eighteen feet, built by Abbot Litlington. It is now used as a chapter-room for the Abbey and for numerous other functions. Apparently it replaced another chamber of the same name built by Henry III. The room was remodelled as we now see it, in the time of the

buildings is now somewhat bare and meagre; but within, the apartments occupied by the dean and his family approached by a noble stairway are ample, stately and handsome, befitting the dignity of a dean of Westminster. Here for many years lived Dean and Lady Stanley.

*The fanciful use of names for special rooms was not uncommon at this period. At Canterbury cathedral there are chambers still called Heaven, and Paradise: at Westminster, besides these two, there was once an Antioch chamber. A Jerusalem Garden is mentioned in a kitchener's account of this monastery, in the fifteenth century.

Lord Keeper Williams, Dean of Westminster, and Bishop of Lincoln, on the occasion of a magnificent banquet which he gave in 1624 to celebrate the completion of the marriage negotiations between the Prince of Wales (later Charles I) and the French Princess, Henrietta Maria. The glass in one of the windows contains the arms of this dean and of Lincoln: and in the handsome carvings of the cedar wood fireplace appear the heads of the bride and groom.

The room has a fine cedar ceiling and its walls are adorned with tapestries and with modern pictures of historical events in the Abbey history. The Tapestry, formerely in the choir, is of Henry VII's time with the exception of one piece of the James I period. The very long table in the centre of the room with its writing materials and its many chairs suggests the chapter meetings and the many conferences which take place here.

The Stained Glass is much older than the present room and would be of much interest if only because there is so little old glass remaining in the Abbey. It doubtless belonged originally in the church. There are two lofty windows on the west, in the pointed style: and on the north, a large square window of four

THE JERUSALEM CHAMBER

ABBOT'S REFECTORY OR COLLEGE HALL
(From an old print).

lights with three mullions. Eight much-patched Panels of old glass have been inserted in this window. The costumes, armour and draperies of the figures indicate the time of Henry III. The blue glass is in part restored and in part of the time of James I when the Chamber was prepared for the Dean's great banquet. All the subjects of the panels are Scriptural. The colours are chiefly dark: the figures are elongated: the flesh tints are deeply ruddy or else greenish white. Only a little ruby glass appears but that is very dark and rich. The four lower groups have pedestals. The greens are beautiful and soft, of lightish emerald hue: there is a little amber and reddish brown which was early used for flesh tints. The eyes have not as yet the second mark to indicate the iris. Several heads are frankly modern and scarcely imitate the old glass: two or three with small, dotlike eyes may be of Perpendicular date, transferred here from elsewhere.

The lower panels represent:

1. Stephen. The principal figures are the kneeling saint and two men with fiendish faces each about to cast a huge stone. Note the delicate hands of St. Stephen, of Italian-like grace, in the attitude of prayer: the amber and faint green robes

of the two men: a fourth figure directly in front of the kneeling saint, ingeniously placed within the narrow border, wearing a delicate green robe, long red hose and a low close cap. Corresponding to him, the opposite side of the medallion has a graceful Early English ornament, like a fir-cone. 2. The Descent of the Holy Spirit consists of a group of seven disciples and the halos of two others, on whose heads the influence of the Holy Spirit seems proceeding from a dove at the top of the medallion. Note the tongues of flame over two of the heads: the beautiful delicate green of the robes: the elongated feet of the period: and the red flames issuing from the mouth of the dove. The heads are largely restored. The stain forming the folds of the drapery is very badly splashed on. 3. The Ascension is represented in the manner usual at this period. Only the lower portion of the robes and feet of Our Lord appear at the upper part of the medallion. There are six disciples but the central figure in a close cap, ruby and pale green robes, with uplifted hand, bearing books, looks like a woman (Magdalen?). All are gazing upward. Our Lord is evidently in priestly garments. 4. The Beheading of John the Baptist. There are two executioners, one

with ruby robes and long green stockings has a fierce uplifted sword with which he is about to sever the head of the saint who kneels on one knee in the centre of the medallion. A second executioner, holding a long lance, stands facing the saint and looks on regretfully. Note the ghoulish expression of the swordsman: the silvery robes of the saint: the bad effect produced by the unskillfully restored head of the Saint with blindfolded eyes and the Early English ornament at the left.

In the Upper Row. 1. The Murder of the Innocents. There are two tall, slender soldiers in mediæval armour, the head of one badly restored. The other holds an uplifted sword over the head of a child in its mother's arms. Notice the expression of the murderers and the mode of representing Rachel mourning for her children. 2. The Last Judgment is probably the subject of this panel but it is much mended. Christ is seated and on one side is represented the soul of a blessed one: on the other, a lost soul, and beneath is the place of torment. The throne is very rich and is guarded by angels. 3. The Heraldic panel evidently contains the arms of Dean Williams, appointed in 1620, with those of the Abbey, and of Lincoln and York, with all of which he had been

officially connected. 4. Peter walking on the water. A star in the firmament indicates that it was night: the waves are crudely represented: the sail is silvery green and a disciple in the low boat bears an oar. Peter seems to be in the water clinging to the boat, but the picture is much marred.

A mutilated but beautiful portion of a thirteenth century reredos has been placed, for preservation, on the east wall. It is doubtless a part of the high altar of Henry III's church and may well be that which was presented him for this purpose by Louis of France. It was discovered hidden away in the Islip chapel about forty years ago. It is divided into five compartments of unequal size, the central composed of three arches with rich tabernacle work and under each arch is a painted figure, the work of which suggests the paintings on the east wall of the chapter house. In the central arch, Our Lord is represented painted in the smooth, delicate style, one hand in benediction, the other holding the orb. The very long green mantle has a rich gold border, the latter again suggesting the chapter house paintings: the Virgin is on one side of Our Lord, with bowed head, and hands evidently clasped in adoration but the figure

is broken. The robe is green, the mantle a dull red: St. John on the left, a youthful figure with yellow hair, red and green bordered robes, is clasping a book and looks to the central figure in adoration. The small columns and capitals of the tabernacle work are richly painted and gilt in delicate designs but are badly cracked and worn. Each small arch has been set with small stones and glass mosaic, fragments of which remain. The tabernacle work is set with rich sapphire glass.

The two large compartments on each side of the central contain each four large eight-pointed stars set one pair above another pair, and each originally contained a miracle or scene in the life of Our Lord. One seems to represent the Miracle of the Loaves, all the figures being painted and gilt. Each star has a beautiful border of painted mosaic and gems, and the spaces between are set with blue glass. The narrow outer compartment has a single rich arch. Under the left as you look is St. Peter with a large key, and St. Paul. The border is worn but still beautiful. There is much delicate green, rich blue and gold. It is evidently of Henry III's time and of French origin, and with little doubt, was a

gift to the king, for the high altar of his new church, from his brother-in-law, Louis IX, the French king. The *fleur-de-lis* and the blue glass mosaic patterned over with gold, so much like the ornament freely used in the St. Chapelle, are strong evidence of its French origin.

Among many historical events which have taken place in this chamber, may be mentioned the death of Henry IV, which occurred here in 1413. The king had vowed a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and being about to make the journey, repaired to the Confessor's shrine to invoke the saint's blessing. While engaged in prayer at the shrine, he suddenly became so ill that his death at once seemed probable. "Wherefore they, for his comfort, bare him into the Abbot's place and laid him down before the fire in this chamber. On coming to himself he inquired if that chamber had any special name. Whereunto it was answered that it was named Jerusalem. Then said the King, Praise be to the Father of Heaven for now I know that I shall die in this chamber, according to the prophecy made of me beforesaid, that I should die in Jerusalem, and so he made himself ready and died shortly after, upon the day of St. Cuth-

bert."* Shakespeare describes this scene in Henry IV.†

The banquet in honour of the betrothal of Charles I and the Princess Henrietta Maria has already been mentioned, when the chamber was richly decorated and transformed from its usual appearance: the cedar ceiling and carved fireplace were then added and no doubt the heraldic glass containing the arms of Dean Williams.

Nineteen years later than the banquet, in 1643, a famous Assembly of Divines, driven from their meeting-place in Henry VII's chapel by the cold, sought comfort before this hospitable fireplace as Henry IV had done. This Assembly‡ "undertook to change the entire character of the Established Church of England: but what ended seemingly in failure, really resulted in organizing a church whose scope and influence have outrun their wildest dreams.

*Fabyan's Chronicle.

†Capgrave tells us that certain lords urged the King's confessor to bid him repent and do penance for the death of Richard II, the death of Archbishop Scrope and the wrongful obtaining of the crown. The King's answer was, "For the first two points I wrote unto the Pope the very truth of my conscience and he sent me a Bull with absolution and penance assigned which I have fulfilled. And as for the third point, it is hard to get remedy: for my children will not suffer that the regalia go out of our lineage."

‡Dr. Lyman Abbott.

This little chamber is the birthplace of the Presbyterian denomination. Out of these walls came the Directory, the Longer and Shorter Catechisms and that famous Confession of Faith which is still the accepted symbol of theological doctrine of one of the largest Protestant denominations in England and the United States."

Here the Revisers of the Bible held nearly 800 sittings, and in 1881 gave out the Revised New Testament: the Old Testament following in 1884. Here have lain in state preceding burial within the Abbey, the bodies of Addison, Congreve, Stanley, and many another of worth. Here, following the Maundy Thursday distribution of the Royal Alms to as many poor persons as there are years in the reigning sovereign's age, and on scores of similar occasions, the old Abbot's withdrawing-room furnishes a convenient gathering place for invited guests.

Abbot Litlington (1362-1386), the busy builder of all that surrounds the old Courtyard, traditionally of the royal blood of Edward III, is remembered today at Westminster not only for these his buildings, but for the beautiful Missal prepared under his direction now preserved in the chapter house. The writing alone occu-

pied one man for two years: the coloured initials were made at a cost of £22.

The old abbot was still vigorous at seventy, the last year of his life, when the rumour of a French invasion stirred his blood, and with two of his monks, one the stalwart giant, John of Canterbury, whose size and strength were the wonder of England, he purchased armour and prepared to go to the defence of the south coast. However, the rumour was false and the abbot died peacefully at his manor house of Neate. A carved stone head near the entrance to the deanery is thought to be his portrait. He generously remembered the convent in his will, with a rich mitre and a crozier worth £15: two great chalices for the high altar: plate weighing one hundred pounds for the abbot's table and the same amount for the brothers: so that the refectory was richly set forth with silver. For this favour, it was agreed that the abbot should "alwaies at the grace after meals be prayed for particularly and by name."

The College Hall, as it is now called, on the right of the Courtyard as we leave the Jerusalem Chamber, was originally the Abbot's Refectory and its size and general appearance suggest banquets and feastings when the abbot entertained kings and no-

bles and brought into requisition the best that the abbey orchards, vineyards, brewhouse and bakehouse could furnish, and with salmon from the Thames the old kitchen must have buzzed and sizzled and steamed with all the good things prepared for this fine old hall. It is now used as a dining-hall for the scholars of the Westminster School and thus its tradition of good feasting is still maintained.

It is of itself an interesting old hall having a timber roof, a louvre, a gallery at the west end, and in the adjoining kitchen, a great fireplace: buttery hatches for serving food are in use now as they have been for centuries past. The great tables for the scholars are traditionally of oak from the wrecked ships of the Spanish Armada, the gift of Queen Elizabeth, and certain gruesome holes are said to be the mark of English bullets. The legend is far too interesting to be rudely assailed, as it might easily be.

In the early days of the School, the dean and prebends dined here with the Masters, at the High table. "Once a year the custom is revived when, on Rogation Monday, the Dean and Chapter receive, in the Hall, the former Westminster Scholars and hear the recitation of Epigrams which have contributed for so many years their

lively comments on the events of each passing generation."

The exterior of the old Hall is worn and gray and beautiful in its rough stone garb, which has weathered the passing centuries. The windows have two lights with Perpendicular tracery: in the glass of one appear Litlington's crowned initials.

LITLINGTON'S INITIALS

CHAPTER XXVII

THE PRECINCTS, THE DEAN'S YARD, GATEHOUSE, JEWEL HOUSE AND THE BROAD SANCTUARY

THE Abbey Precincts were once very spacious: but in describing them we must first consider the Abbey in its early relation to the king's palace across the way. "From the time of the Confessor to the time of Henry VIII, we may think of Westminster as a little town, half monastery and half palace": and such a little town it was during nearly all the period of which we write.

The monastery with its church predated the king in his palace: but when Edward the Confessor came to live in the palace which had doubtless been the residence of Canute, his relations with the

abbot of Westminster at once became intimate. Later, he rebuilt the old Saxon church in splendid Norman fashion, at his own charges and we soon read of it as a royal chapel attached to the palace. Here the Confessor was buried: here the Conqueror and his successors were crowned. The king's treasure was stored in the crypt of the chapter house: the chapter house itself soon lost its religious character and became the meeting place of Parliament. "The Abbey belongs to the State in a far greater degree than does one of the cathedrals."

The old palace of Canute and the Confessor stood due east of the chapter house in what is still known as the Old Palace Yard, and included the monastery within its precincts. All that now remains of the palace buildings, except the site, is the great Hall, east of Henry VII's chapel, rebuilt by the second Norman king, often called the Hall of William Rufus. The New Palace Yard, as it is called, lies west of the Hall and around it rise in majesty the noble modern Houses of Parliament, which thus occupy, in part, the site of the palace of the early kings. For this reason, the coronation of English sovereigns which takes place in the Abbey, is said to occur in "our palace of Westminster."

The actual domain of the Abbey extended much farther, even down to that which we call the City of London today. The Convent (Covent) Garden beyond the little village of Charing had its groves, its pastures and its fruitful gardens: and that church in Trafalgar Square which is called St. Martin's in the Field, grew out of a little chapel here erected for the convenience of the officers of the monastery on their way to visit their Convent Garden. "When Abbot Laurence (1160-1176) looked out to the north or the northeast, he could see no land, so far as the wall of London, which did not belong to him and his house."

The immediate environment of the Abbey was enclosed by a wall. A stream of water, large enough to turn a mill, and called the Long Ditch or the Mill Ditch, ran almost parallel with the west front of the church, making an eastward bend near the southwest angle of the present Dean's Yard, and going on due east, down the present Great College street, to join the river Thames. The bridge which crossed it has been discovered during recent excavations. The Abbey Mill was situated near the junction of the two rivers. South of the Dean's Yard, beyond the Mill Brook, was the monks' Bowling Al-

ley: and near by, their orchard and vineyard; and streets here bear the names Bowling, Orchard and Vine, in memory of the palmy days of the old monastery. A spring of water in the Convent's manor of Hyde, now Hyde Park, was conveyed to the monastery in leaden pipes.

St. Margaret's Church, by the north entrance of the Abbey, the parish church of this part of London, and at one time the only church between Temple Bar and Westminster, stands in the midst of what was once St. Peter's Cemetery.

The Dean's Yard is a fine open green court, now used as a playground for the School, planted with trees and environed by houses, lying to the west of the Little Dean's Yard, and southwest of the Abbey. In its present form, it does not represent any one part of the Abbey precincts, but is made up (as nearly as one may judge from the early plans) of a part of the abbot's garden and a part of the principal monastery court, in which were located the brewhouse, bakehouse, granary and almonry.

It is sometimes called The Elms, from trees originally planted by Abbot Feckenham at the close of that brief period when Queen Mary restored the monastery, and after the accession of Elizabeth, when

each day was an anxious one in the precincts of Westminster, for a second dissolution was plainly imminent. As the rosy-cheeked abbot, who had been reared as a farmer's son in Worcestershire, and had been Queen Mary's chaplain and confessor, was busily engaged in planting his elms, word came to him that the House of Commons had ordered the closing of the monastery and that the abbot and his monks would soon be expected to leave, and the trees would be planted in vain.

"Not so," replied the abbot, "those who come after me may perhaps be scholars and lovers of retirement and whilst walking under the shade of these trees they may sometimes think of the olden religion of England and the last abbot of Westminster . . ." so he continued his planting.

The Dean's Yard may be entered from Victoria Street: from the Outer Parlour near the Dean's Porch: or from the School Quadrangle under the Blackstole Tower. Formerly there might be seen carved at the entrance from the cloister a representation of Edward the Confessor bestowing his ring on the Pilgrim.

This quiet court in the midst of noisy London, from whose street it is withdrawn but a stone's throw, is now surrounded by

an unbroken range of houses, chiefly modern, but those on the east side contain many interesting remains of earlier buildings. On the south side once stood the bakehouse and the brewhouse of the monastery: on the east were various residences for the prior, sub-prior, lesser officials, guests and servants. The granary, long since rebuilt and once used as a dormitory for the School, stood a little to the west of the prior's house: it had a substantial substructure and a large central tower. The almonry was on the opposite side of the court, back of which was a large orchard. The Tower gateways have been rebuilt in part: that on the east side, which gives access to the School Quadrangle, was known as the Blackstole Tower. The principal gatehouse was opposite the west front of the church, near the site of the Crimean column erected by the Westminster School boys in memory of Westminster scholars who fell in the Crimean war.

This open area now serves as a playground for the School in winter, while it is grassed over and left to its native beauty during the long summer vacation. In the green stands a well-worn pump, and until recently its supply was a spring that fed the monastery conduit.

Facing the central court of the Yard, on the north side, is the Church House, or the beginnings of a central building for the Church of England. From a quaint doorway situated in the midst of mediæval masonry, much rebuilt, a venerable Archdeacon comes out to gladden the pulpit of St. John's. To the south of the Yard, a spacious new dormitory emits a horde of schoolboys to the College Yard beyond. In the days of Henry VII, a large almonry stood in the northwest part of the present Dean's Yard, not far from the Monks' Orchard and the Mill Brook. It was as old as the Abbey building itself, but had then been newly endowed by Henry VII and his mother, the Lady Margaret. The most interesting association of this early almonry, long since destroyed, is a house close by, held by the Mercers' Company from the abbots of Westminster, which, in 1477, was rented to Caxton who had come over from Bruges, with his wife and daughter, and here set up his wonderful printing-press, the first seen in England. According to the custom of the day, every house of business had its peculiar emblem or device hung out in front. Caxton's house bore a shield having two vertical white pales and a red pale between them: hence it was called The House of

the Red Pale. Here he lived and printed for the rest of his life. He was a man of note in St. Margaret's parish, Edward IV was his earliest patron: and later, the

CAXTON'S HOUSE—THE RED PALE

Lady Margaret, the King's mother, commissioned him to print volumes of her own and also translations. Bourchier, Earl of Essex, was another patron, and the Abbot another: as Caxton quaintly says: "My lord abbot of Westminster did shewe to me late certaign evydences written in old Englysshe, for to reduce it into our Englysshe now usid."

Caxton died in 1491, and was buried in

St. Margaret's church, where also his wife and daughter rest. The printers of England, in 1882, placed a stained glass window to his memory in the church, with Caxton's portrait and his motto, "*Fiat Lux.*" Wynken de Worde, his assistant, succeeded him and continued at The Almonry until 1500. The Red Pale fell to decay in 1845. Some precious fragments of Caxton's work, stored away in odd nooks and corners of the Abbey triforium (by rats, no doubt), have been discovered within a few years and are now preserved in the chapter house.

The best known of the *Gatehouses* of the monastery, that which contained the Monastery Prison, stood in what is now the entrance to Tothill Street, opposite the north side of the church. As originally built in the fourteenth century, it had two chambers built over an archway. After the Reformation, one chamber was used as a public prison for Westminster and the other was the Bishop of London's prison for religious offenders. It was torn down in 1776.

In this Gatehouse, "in a very uneasy and unconvenient lodging," Sir Walter Raleigh was confined the night of October 28, 1618, and from it went to his execution in the Old Palace Yard near by, the

next morning. At midnight (as is thought) after bidding farewell to his wife Bess, he wrote on the flyleaf of his Bible those lines by which his name will long be remembered:

"Ev'n such is Time, that takes on trust
Our youth, our joys, our all we have,
And pays us but with age and dust:
Who in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wandered all our ways
Shuts up the story of our days.
But from this earth, this grave, this dust,
The Lord shall raise me up I trust."*

Another immortal poem "To Althea from Prison" was written in the old Gatehouse, by the once elegant, accomplished and Royalist Poet, Lovelace, for a time confined here:

"Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage:
Minds innocent and quiet take
That for a hermitage.
If I have freedom in my love,
And in my soul am free,
Angels alone that soar above,
Enjoy such liberty."

There is an old square Tower standing back well out of general sight, south of the chapter house, which once belonged to the monastery and is known as The King's Jewel House. It was built by Litlington, but in the time of Edward III seems to

*A window to Sir Walter's memory was erected by American admirers in St. Margaret's church in 1882 with an inscription by Lowell.

have been sold to the government and converted into a treasury where the king's jewels were stored. Later it was used as a Parliament Office, and here were deposited those Acts of Parliament that had been passed in the chapter house and the Death Warrant of Charles I. It continued in government use until 1864.

The Broad Sanctuary is the name applied to that short portion of the public street which passes to the north and west of the Abbey, continuing onward under the name of Victoria Street: and reminds us of the right of Sanctuary which once belonged to this monastery, as to Durham and many another, and of the very strong stone fortress which once stood here, not far from the site of the present Westminster Hospital, called The Sanctuary, a house of refuge for the distressed. It was a massive, gloomy stone fortress built by the Confessor, strong enough to withstand a siege. It had a cruciform chapel attached to it, which those who sought refuge here were expected to attend. So solidly and well was it built (says one who saw it), that the workmen employed in its demolition "almost despaired of ever being able to level it."*

Many innocent and many guilty sought

*Stukeley.

shelter in the old Tower: the most famous, perhaps (though it is not certain that she came to this particular building), was Elizabeth Woodville, queen of Edward IV, who first came here for refuge from danger in 1470, with her three little daughters, including the future queen of Henry VII. Here was born her eldest son, the prince Edward V. Abbot Millyng showed her great kindness and when the child was baptized in the Abbey stood as his godfather. When the King returned he hastened to the Abbey and comforted the Queen, "that had a long time abided there sojourning in deep trouble, sorrow and heaviness, which she sustained with all manner of patience": and presented the young prince "to his heart's singular comfort and gladness."* He made the abbot Bishop of Hereford as a reward for his kindness.

The privilege of sanctuary was greatly abused, here and elsewhere: the vicinity was thronged with thieves and dissipated people of all sorts, and the privilege was finally withdrawn by James I.

Near by the Sanctuary stood the old Belfry Tower in which the Abbey bells were hung before the west towers were completed.

*Fleetwood's Chronicle.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE EXTERIOR

THE most enthusiastic lover of Westminster Abbey does not venture to claim great architectural merit for the exterior as it appears today. "It is so completely recased that to describe it will be to describe a series of modern works," says the latest of its critics. (Lethaby.) Various reasons are to be assigned for its lack of external beauty. The west front has been hopelessly injured by the Renaissance towers: the low, inexplicable (but original) intrusion, in Litlington's time, of the Jerusalem Chamber on the south, a part of the Abbot's Lodgings, destroyed its grace of line. The north prospect, that which is most frequently seen since it contains the entrance in general use today, is sadly marred by St. Margaret's church which must form a part of the north view from any point whatever: also the entire effect of height, for it is really a lofty structure, is nullified by the magnificent soaring towers of the Houses of Parliament which rise above it to the south and suppress all the Abbey's architectural ambitions in this direction.

But none of these reasons seem quite

sufficient to explain the lack of effectiveness in the external aspect. If the Abbey were located in the Ely Fens with all their lowly picturesqueness which lend such a charm to Ely cathedral: if it were placed on a lofty wooded promontory, as at Durham: or if it crowned "Lincoln's sovereign hill," I doubt very much if it would equal Ely, Durham or Lincoln in effectiveness of line or grouping. It may be that the Abbey has never been architecturally beautiful in its external face but that it has contained much beauty: it may well be that Henry III's design for the completion of nave and west front would have been grandly impressive, with great recessed doorways enriched with statuary, like Amiens: or with a group of spires rivalling Lichfield's: and it may well be that the fifteenth century student of architecture, whose taste had been formed on a series of beautiful examples of Gothic art, as ours today has not been, found no greater cause for unqualified admiration than we find today.

The Abbey is a rich mass of stone, wrought with great care, but must ever have lacked the strong individuality which only some prominent architectural feature could give. The bold Ely Octagon furnishes this and glorifies the Fens for miles

around: so too the strong western and central towers of Lincoln and of Durham impart a majesty to their cathedrals which Westminster has ever lacked. The long line of profile from the western towers of Wren to the elaborately decorated chapter house of Henry VII at the east, does not please the eye, though indeed, it may be said in the Abbey's defence that from no available point can its entire exterior be seen to advantage. The remarkably stiff western towers, as ungraceful of line as if squared off by a compass, are not wholly responsible for the meagre aspect from this point, since no great church of England can show a successful west front wrought at this period. But the long northern line with its many rich architectural features might have been made effective had it been set off by even one noble tower, or, possibly, by a tower with a spire like that of Salisbury. We have only to blot out the spire from a northern view of Salisbury in order to see not only how much the cathedral is indebted to its spire but also to see how striking the resemblance is to Westminster Abbey before the west towers were added.

St. Margaret's church was standing in Henry III's time, a parish church for Westminster then as now, and previously

to its rebuilding by Edward I, must have been an undesirable architectural feature of the view. Again, the large and rich transept, one of the loveliest portions of the structure, both within and without, is separated by so little space from the equally rich group of apsidal chapels, by reason of the shortness of the choir, that the eastern arm of the church seems almost overloaded and out of balance with the western extension, a feeling which the delicate eastmost chapel, comparatively lowly, does not dispel.

Yet Westminster Abbey, externally, is replete with beauties. Its forest-like buttresses, its noble series of traceried windows, its lofty, magnificent transepts, its wonderful clustering group of apsidal chapels, its delicately suitable ornament in the rich Lady chapel of Henry VII at the east even as today, recased, and cut down and smoothed off by necessary modern restoration are still beautiful, though lacking the grace and charm of the worn gray stones of their original structure.

The most interesting external view is, without doubt, that from the east end, which includes the chapter house, the south transept and a part of Henry VII's chapel: or from the cloister court, but neither of these presents anything like a

complete view of the building. The view from the Dean's Yard is also rewarding, especially when the graceful Feckenham elms form a part of the picture.

The West Front. It is usual to begin one's study of a great mediæval church with the west front, which here, with all its faults, has a very interesting history, has witnessed a very great number of historical events, and has welcomed hundreds of grand pageants, for coronations, consecrations and stately funeral obsequies of royal men and women.

The west front was the last work completed and was probably undertaken by Abbot Esteney, late in the fifteenth century when the Perpendicular Gothic style had attained its full maturity. That part of the nave interior which was completed at this date followed the Early English design set by Henry III: and had the same design been continued for the exterior, repeating Salisbury, Ripon, the east end of Ely or any of the French cathedrals of the period, the result might have been admirable. The Abbot continued the west front to about one-half the height of the towers as they now stand, and they were not completed until 1742, in the time of George II whose arms appear on the decorations.

THE WEST FRONT—SHOWING ST. MARGARET'S CHURCH AND THE TOWERS OF THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

The design is not unlike that of Winchester cathedral and consists of a central compartment having an enriched porch, a broad window of nine lights with three transoms, and a small gable flanked by two massive towers. The base of the southern tower is concealed by a low, battlemented structure, a part of the fifteenth century Abbot's Lodgings, now called the Jerusalem Chamber, which must have been built by Litlington with full knowledge of its interference with the west front of the church. This fact, here and elsewhere (notably at Worcester where the Infirmary buildings were grouped at the west front of the church between it and the beautiful Severn, thus interfering very seriously with what might have been made the most picturesque west front of any cathedral in England), shows that picturesque effect was not always considered by the mediæval monastery guardians.

The west porch is of a single story, is deeply recessed, has a vaulted ceiling much decayed: panelled tracery enriching the sides which gradually contract to the central doorway: and a large canopied niche on either side. Above the porch runs a series of ten lofty, richly-canopied niches for figures, with pedestals: and above this

a modern cornice. Between the cornice and the parapet of the great window is a frieze charged with nine shields of arms, the only really expressive feature of the entire facade. The arms include those of King Sebert, the Confessor, Queen Elizabeth and George II, in whose time the front was completed.

The plain Perpendicular window of eight lights (described within) has two principal mullions and two plain and one traceried transom. In the frieze above it, note the inscription which records the completion: "R. Georgii II, VIII. MDCCCXXXV": i. e., 1735. The small modern gable is in the form of a straight sided equilateral triangle pierced by a window. The buttresses which flank this central compartment contain large canopied niches originally occupied by figures of sovereigns of England, placed here by Islip: those over the porch once had figures also.

The two square towers, 225 feet high, were originally carried up to the height of the gables in the Perpendicular style. In Dean Atterbury's time Sir Christopher Wren was asked to complete them. In his report to the dean at that time he said: "It is evident that the two towers were left not perfect, the one much higher than

the other: though still too low for bells which are stifled by the height of the roof above them. They ought certainly to be carried to an equal height, one story above the ridge of the roof, still continuing the Gothic manner in the stone work and tracery." He submitted designs for the completion of the west front proper to agree with the original scheme of the architect without any mixture "to show his own invention," but died before he could execute the design, and the work was finished perhaps by his pupil, John James, with "numerous architectural anomalies," the result of an attempt to assimilate the principles of classic architecture and those of the Gothic style. Each face of the towers contains a tall three-light window of inferior Gothic design, having two transoms: and the towers terminate in open pierced battlements having at the angles cone-shaped pinnacles with crockets and finials. The north tower has a clock with one finger. From this tower a telegraph line was erected by the government in 1798 and continued until the close of the French Revolution. From the roof there is an extended view over the counties of Middlesex, Surrey and Kent.

The Jerusalem Chamber, one long low

story with battlemented cornice, of old stone masonry, stands low to the south against the west front. Note on its north wall a fine large Perpendicular window containing some panes of old glass: at the north the building terminates in a low tower-shaped octagon, built on the northwest corner and entered by a door concealed in the wall which leads to a staircase going down to the Chapter Clerk's office. The Chamber is lighted on the west by two-light traceried windows much restored. To the south is the long gray dining-hall, once belonging to the Abbot, now to the Westminster School, entered from the Abbot's Courtyard (v. p. 761). Hundreds of Roman bricks and pieces of flint work are worked into the walls of these old buildings.

The North Side of the Nave is the most conspicuous portion of the exterior since it contains the transept which furnishes the usual and principal entrance and is revealed in its entirety to the busy, long curving street called the Broad Sanctuary. The nave displays its beautiful design with all the marks of the mellowing, softening hand of time carefully erased by restoration, as at Durham. In particular, the unusual height of the church is well seen from this point. There is a range of two-light windows in the main arcade having

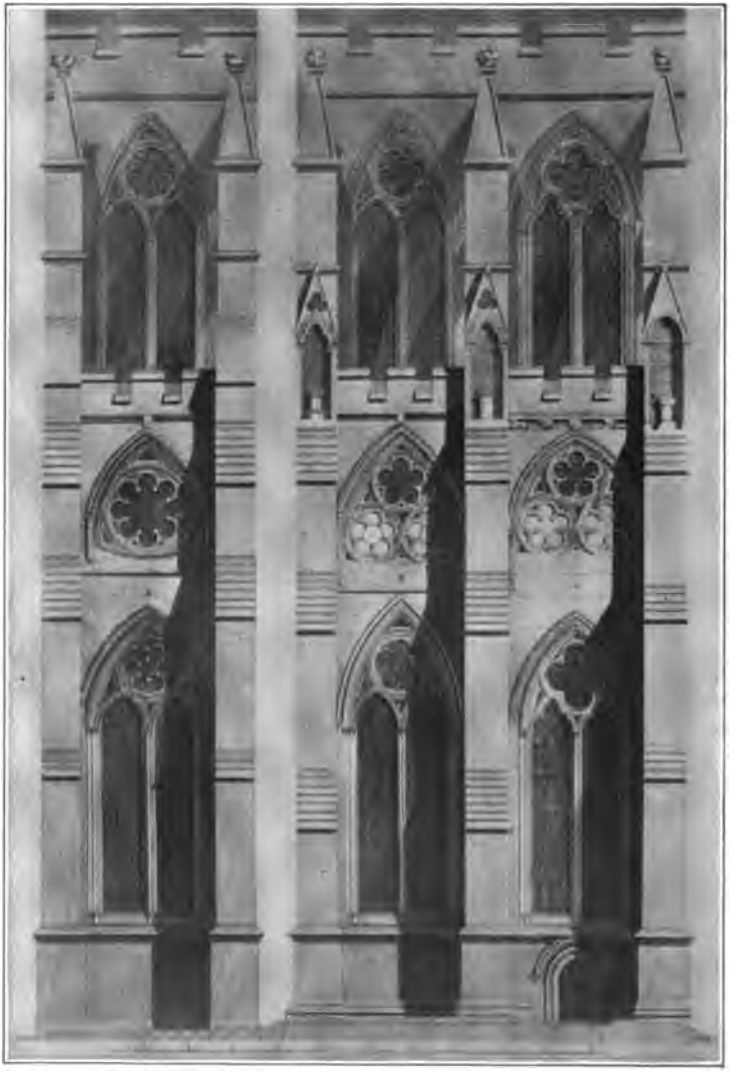
simply traceried heads: a range of small windows in the form of a spherical triangle enclosing cinquefoiled circles, as in the north transept at Hereford, which light the triforium but are not visible from within the nave of the church: and a range of two-light, lofty clerestory windows, similar to those in the main arcade. The roof is very high pitched.

The massive and interesting buttresses are the most prominent feature of the exterior, and their unusual mass was necessary in a lofty stone building pierced by so many large windows, thus weakening the walls. "More than the vaults themselves, the French way of staying them with flying buttresses was characteristic of the progress of the Gothic. The first flying buttresses were simply quadrant arches, like those around the apse of St. Germain des Prés, in Paris, consecrated in 1163. They reached an extraordinary development at Chartres and Rheims, and above all at Beauvais. They seem to have been in general use from c. 1160, at Ourscamp, Laon, etc. But in England, there was a long period after their introduction by the Sens master at Canterbury before they were generally adopted and they were haltingly used until Westminster Abbey was built, after 1245. The buttresses of

this church closely follow French models. It is possible that this hesitation may have come from a dislike of their essential weakness as being exposed to rapid decay: but notwithstanding this weakness, great Gothic construction depends on the bold use of the buttressing arch. This reluctance delayed the use of high vaults, so that the middle spans of noble churches like Byland Abbey and Ripon cathedral were not vaulted. Others like Rievaulx (choir) and St. Hugh's choir at Lincoln, were vaulted but without external support. In both these cases, flying buttresses were added later. Even in the middle of the thirteenth century, when Salisbury was built, the supports were all kept under the aisle roofs."*

From the exterior, in that bay which contains the little door, notice the difference in tracery between this later Early English work and that in the choir. In the nave, of later work, the large circles in the window tracery of the main arcade are fivefoiled except that over the door which is quatrefoiled: but in the earlier choir bay, sixfoiled. Again, in the triangular window which lights the triforium, the early work has one large moulded circle which is sixfoiled, as below: and in the

*Lethaby.



ELEVATION OF THREE BAYS OF THE NAVE

From Scott's *Gleanings.*

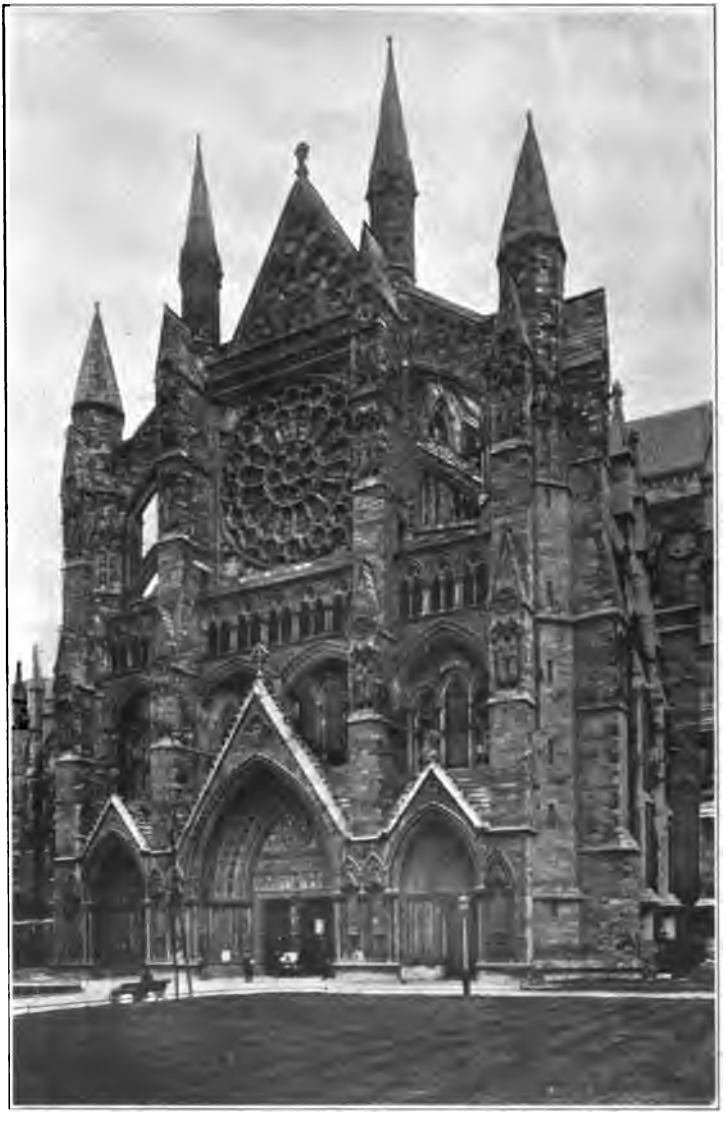
later work, the triangle contains three circles, cinquefoiled. Also in the later work there appear to be canopied niches for figures in the buttresses at the clerestory stage, and none in the earliest work. The canopied niches were broader in the earlier work and have the pediment enriched by an open trefoil which does not appear in the later work. All have been restored: among the figures which they now contain are those of the Confessor: Henry III: Edward I: Edward III: the Black Prince: James I: and Islip, all benefactors of the fabric. The shields placed on a small frieze in the sixth bay from the west, include the stag of Richard II, in whose time a part of this work was completed.

An ample sacristy, 120 feet long, was built by Henry III's order against this north nave aisle, the Norman nave then standing: and later a small doorway, now to be seen, was cut in the north wall of the new nave to give access to the room. The foundations which have been discovered here are supposed to be those of the sacristy. A building was also put up next to the sacristy, called the Masons' Lodge, for the use of those employed in building the nave. Near the west front a Roman milestone was found in 1879, by the late Mr. Wright, Clerk of the Works, close

by the place where the Roman coffin, now preserved in the chapter house vestibule was found. The parish cemetery extended all about the green.

The North Transept is, or at least has been, a very interesting and important feature of the exterior, both for the beauty of its design and because it was the largest and most important entrance to the church. The transept is stately and beautiful in its original aspect, within: without, its north face at least and the porch are entirely modern and exhibit very little of the original structure. The transept front was completed by the addition of a porch, the gift of Richard II. In the eighteenth century it was almost wholly swept away and rebuilt in a design of Wren's: and the fine old sculptures, little valued in that day, were smoothed down. This porch in turn was almost entirely rebuilt in the nineteenth century, the lower portion from designs by Scott: the upper part from designs by Pearson, each attempting to restore at least the spirit of the original Gothic design. The work was finished in 1890. It is not admirable from any point of view but appears to be well and thoroughly built.

The design suggests that of many western facades of English cathedrals, a cen-



THE NORTH TRANSEPT

tral compartment with rose window and gable flanked by heavy, graduated, deeply projecting buttresses which are much too prominent in the general effect: and two side compartments, also flanked by heavy buttresses in pairs at the angle. The great arched doorways forming a triple porch, the central one much the loftiest, are deeply recessed and are enriched with carved ornament and statuary. Only the central and the westmost doors actually open into the transept. The central doorway is double, and on the dividing shaft within a rich canopied niche, is a large statue of the Virgin and Child, located like the *Bon Dieu* of Amiens. In the head of the arch appears our Lord Enthroned, blessing the world: and below are carved two tiers of figures, the first representing the Twelve Apostles: and below, a tier of figures representing a procession of faithful souls. Allegorical figures on the east side of the arch, set in mitred niches represent Architecture, Music, Painting, Sculpture, Poetry, Letters, History and Philosophy: and at the head, an archbishop, an abbot and two monks, represent the Church: on the west side of the arch is a procession led by the early benefactors and builders of the church, the Confessor, Henry III and Richard

II, with figures typifying Law, Justice and Wisdom: also a crusader, and a knight, representing War: and the four figures closing the series are of Navigation, Astronomy, Physics and Engineering.

Directly over the eastern doorway are the figures of Abbot Lawrence and Abbot Langham: over the western door, Esteney and Islip. The figures in the lower range of niches set in the buttresses of the transept, beginning at the northeast angle and going west, are Matthew of Westminster, the historian of the Abbey: Caxton: Abbot Wulsinus: Abbot Edwin, the Confessor's friend: Richard II and Anne of Bohemia: Henry V and Katherine of Valois: Abbot Ware, friend of Henry III: Abbot Litlington: Dean Goodman and Dean Williams.

In the second row of niches in the buttresses beginning at the east angle of the transept and choir, the figures are the Venerable Bede: Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury: St. Alban and St. Aidan: St. Augustine, and Paulinus, Archbishop of York: St. Benedict and St. Dunstan: St. Boniface and St. Edmund: Roger Bacon and Bishop Grossteste of Lincoln.

The beautiful porch called Solomon's Porch and also the Gate Beautiful, the gift

of Richard II already referred to, had its inner walls adorned with paintings and its design, though not ornate, was in the excellent Gothic taste of the fourteenth century in which it was built. The north face was adorned with figures of the Twelve Apostles "as big as life."

The angle between the north transept and the choir has several interesting features. The rich east aisle of this transept, divided within into three chapels, is encroached upon, from this point of view, by the little rectangular chapel of Islip, corresponding to that of St. Benedict on the south, an integral part, not of the group of apsidal chapels but of the transept itself, of which it is an eastward projection. A blocked-up door in the east aisle has lately been reopened.

The plan of the group of eastern Apsidal chapels is better understood from without the church than from within, where their outlines are obscured by the numerous monuments. There are two on this side, the chapel of St. John the Evangelist at the west and St. Paul's at the east: they are a part of the original and early building of Henry III and have the lofty two-light traceried windows seen elsewhere in the Early English portions of the church. Above these lower win-

dows is a series of triangular windows, each enclosing a moulded circle which is octofoiled, and seems to be simply ornamental. Strong graduated buttresses rise between the windows. "The peculiar and afterwards stereotyped French arrangement of the chevet or apse with its group of radiating chapels had been brought by many steps to its final development. Radiating chapels growing out of the main apse or its aisles had been early used. The French characteristic, however, was the arranging of them in polygons fitting to one another and to the sides of the polygonal aisle of the main apse, a sort of corona of little chapels, mathematically fitted together and their axes radiating to the centre of the apse, at or near where the high altar is usually placed."*

All that can be seen of the exterior of the east end of the main building of the church is the high pitched roof and the upper range of windows, since Henry VII's chapel abuts directly on the ambulatory of the eastern apse of the main structure.

The Central Tower. Whether or not a central tower was ever intended it is impossible now to say. The Norman

*Scott.

church had a very large and conspicuously beautiful central tower, according to contemporary description, and according to its representation in the Bayeux Tapestry: and if Jumièges with its noble towers, still standing, was the prototype of the Confessor's church, then Westminster was also thus enriched. The Plantagenet king, in rearing this splendid monument to the Confessor's memory, after destroying the latter's church, would scarcely, one would think, contemplate rebuilding any part on a less magnificent scale: and while French architecture of the period laid no emphasis on central towers, but rather preferred the light flêche, yet throughout England the tradition of a group of towers, or of towers with spires, was still in favor.

A central belfry tower was contemplated by Islip, we are told, and doubtless had he lived to witness the completion of the west front, this would have been his next undertaking. But we are also told that Abbot Litlington, at an earlier date, had wished to raise a central tower but that he considered the foundations inadequate. If this is true, it would imply that the foundations of the large Norman tower of the Confessor's church had been replaced by those of less capacity. The

lower stage of a central tower is now in existence and though rebuilt, is a copy of one which was certainly in existence in Wren's day, and appears in Hollar's print of the Abbey. The twelve-sided Gothic steeple which Wren designed was similar to those of Salisbury and Chichester, and rested on a lower tower of two small and very plain stages. It was never built and could hardly have been successful had it been completed.

The exterior of Henry VII's Chapel is of great beauty and interest, although it is at once evident that scarcely a stone of its elegant little structure is original, and restoration, though successfully accomplished, speaks from every part.

A choice example of a Perpendicular Gothic Lady Chapel, purely English in design and detail, the gift of a great king, as sumptuous without as we have found it within, the building forms a fitting architectural conclusion to the great Royal church of the third Henry. The chapel was built, we remember, between 1503 and 1519, the larger part before 1509, the year of the king's death. Its stone proved very perishable and soon falling to decay, it was necessary to restore it almost stone for stone. This was accomplished with such care that what we see

HENRY VII'S CHAPEL FROM THE EAST

today, so hard in its lines and apparently as enduring as if wrought from iron, cannot be very unlike the original building. No other chapel is like it, in England or in Europe, a rich morsel of carved stone and glass, too fine and delicate for effectiveness in a large building but excellently adapted to its purpose, that of furnishing royal tombs in royal fashion.

Its proportions appear far greater from without than from within, since the division into aisles, and the five apsidal chapels, all encumbered by great tombs, detract from its apparent size, and from without the lofty traceried parapet with its pinnacles rising well above the lofty clerestory windows, increases its appearance of height. The curiously convoluted range of windows in the main arcade are as much of a mystery here as within the chapel, and again one longs to know who designed their delicate and complex beauty and whence the origin of their design.

The general appearance of the exterior is wholly that of tracery and glass. Its design here appears to consist of fourteen octagonal panelled buttresses, having lofty pinnacled towers enriched with canopied niches, seven buttresses on the north and seven on the south side and three, farther separated, at the east end. These but-

tress-towers stand side by side, alternating with the curious angled windows that we have seen within the chapel, the panelled work of the buttresses of the same design and apparently continuing the traceried windows. These windows belong to the outer aisle of the chapel. From the towers of the buttresses spring flying buttresses, richly traceried, to the support of the main structure of the chapel. The wide and lofty clerestory windows are a decorative feature of the exterior and a traceried parapet runs around the aisle roof: a richer parapet, combined with a band of panelling, crowns the clerestory roof.

Many canopied niches, forty-eight in all, decorate the buttresses, each having a rich pedestal with a label. Cottingham, who made a careful study of the chapel, says that these niches were never deep enough to contain images but that each niche may have been dedicated to some figure whose name was inscribed on the label beneath. Others say that there were images here and that they included Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists and the ancestry of the Virgin to whom the chapel was dedicated. Each of the six eastern turrets contained four niches and the eight other turrets had three each. These fell to decay and are said

THE SOUTH TRANSEPT ENTRANCE, WITH APSIDAL CHAPELS AND A PART OF THE CHAPTER HOUSE.

From a photograph by S. B. Bolas.

to have been removed lest they should fall on the heads of those who attended Parliament.

When the chapel was restored, other figures, chiefly Biblical were put in their places. From the southwest and proceeding from left to right these represent, in the First Turret, Thomas: John the Baptist: Solomon: the second turret, Isaiah, James the Less, and Michael: the third, Elias, Barnabas and Luke: fourth, Nathan, Andrew and James: the fifth, Jeremiah, Peter, David and Esdreas: the sixth, Machias, Ezekiel, James and Abdias: the seventh, Hosea, Joel, Amos, and Nahum: the eighth, Jeremiah, Philip, Haggai, and Jehu: the ninth, Michael, Ananias, Malachi and Simon: tenth, Zechariah, Matthew, Habbakuk and Dan: the eleventh, Matthias, Paul, Azarias: the twelfth, Mark, Zephaniah, Elisha: the thirteenth, Bartholomew, John, the Evangelist and Nehemiah: the fourteenth, Elias, Samuel and a Judge. Emblems and devices, including the rose, portcullis, dragon, *fleur-de-lis* and other Tudor emblems, together with a variety of descending animals also enrich the exterior.

The noble west front of the chapel is entirely concealed from view on the ex-

terior by the east end of the apse of the main structure.

The chapel is now the most intimate neighbour of that which occupies the room, across the way, of the old Palace of Westminster, viz., the modern Houses of Parliament, built in the same general style of architecture as this, each suggesting close relation with the other. There was once a passage across from the palace to the Abbey. Snugly disposed between this chapel and the south transept are the two chapels of the main apse, dedicated to St. Nicholas and St. Edmund, similar in all respects to those which we have seen on the north side.

The paved walk which runs here from the street to the church, lies between the chapter house and the apsidal chapels, and leads directly into the east aisle of the Poets' Corner.

The Chapter House, lying directly south of the south apsidal chapels and in the east walk of the cloister, is displayed to excellent advantage from this point. The high, sloping pyramidal roof is surmounted by a cross. Its stout row of low gabled buttresses stand out at some little distance from the building itself and send out flying buttresses to support the old walls, now, like all the rest of the exterior, thor-

oughly restored. Remembering the beauty of the interior, one is disappointed in the external aspect of this historic old building: but it must be remembered that scarcely a trace remains of the original exterior which was the early home of the House of Commons and of the monastery chapter. It seems to have been surrounded by a burial ground and stone coffins are still disinterred here from time to time.

The south wall of the nave, in all its rich bold beauty, is best seen from the cloister: indeed from no other point may one obtain an adequate view of it. On a sunny day, the heavy flying buttresses, like those which we have seen on the north side of the nave, cast broad shadows against the old walls, and the beautiful tracery of the north cloister walk is an ornamental feature of the view. From here also the great mass and projection of the main buttresses are clearly seen, the first six great graduated buttresses west of the transept springing from heavy bases set within the cloister garth. Each of these buttresses sends out arms to support the stone walls of the nave and its aisles, the uppermost extending above the aisle: but the three to the west stand close to the wall in their lower stages. A curious fact concerning these buttresses is noted by

Neale: "The specific gravity of each buttress is far more than equal to the lateral pressure which they have to sustain."

Among the many interesting features of this south side we notice the difference between the earlier and the later work of Henry III, the earlier work at the east having loftier arches more sharply pointed: the set-offs of the early buttresses are of different designs: the earlier pinnacles of different designs: the earlier tracery in the main arcade has a moulded circle enclosing a richly cusped cinquefoil which in later work is replaced by a plain large quatrefoil. The aisle roof has a beautiful pierced parapet. The small triangular windows which light the triforium stage and are not visible from the floor of the nave within (very popular for birds' nests), were blocked up in their two lower circles of each triangle, during the repairs of the eighteenth century, to admit of workshops being made in the triforium. The south side of the church, here as elsewhere when monastic buildings were clustered on this side, is somewhat less rich than the north which is exposed to public view. The north, for example, has canopied niches set with figures, but none appear on the south. In many places on this side the stone has scaled off to the depth of four

or five inches. The dates of the successive years during which the repairs of this side were carried out are said to be marked on the buttresses.

The South Transept exterior cannot be viewed in its entirety from any point: but the south and west faces are well seen from the cloister of which it forms a very picturesque feature. The eastern part of the south side of the transept, and the south face of the apsidal chapels, may be seen from the entrance to the Poets' Corner, just to the south of Henry VII's chapel, as stated above. The general features of the cloister view of the south transept are more pleasing than those of the north transept, of the same age and style, because here, in the south transept, the restorer has stayed his hand and we have the picturesque beauty of the old stones. The transept gable is richly decorated with tracery at the head, and below it there is an arcade of narrow arches, and below, the great rose window, much restored. The angle buttress of the transept is very large and contains a staircase lighted by several windows. From this point we can see, on the transept's south face, at the triforium level, the old Norman archway through which the monks went from the cloister roof for their night services in the

church. The single low, restored stage of the central tower may also be seen from the cloister.

The little postern gate or doorway in the south transept, at the southeast angle, between Henry VII's chapel and the chapter house, said to be the usual approach from the king's palace across the way, has a quaint character of its own, "an echo of romance" (Lethaby), and is situated in the midst of a small section of masonry of the original thirteenth century, built by Henry III. It corresponds to a little door in the east wall of the north transept aisle, blocked up in the fourteenth century when the aisle was divided by screens to form chapels but lately reopened: and a comparison of the two reveals the probable character of the original doorways.

The windows of the chapter house crypt are seen from the southeast angle of the church. The external walls of the Early English chapter house (1245-1250) were, we remember, built outside the walls of the Norman crypt, the early chapter house being smaller, forming together a wall eighteen feet thick. Within, the crypt was vaulted in eight compartments supported by a central column four feet in diameter. The heavy walls may have suggested its early use as a Royal Treas-

ury. The windows were fitted with iron bars for greater security.

Here were kept the Royal Regalia, jewels and plate, and here, in the reign of Edward I, in 1303, a large sum of money which he had accumulated for use in his Scotch wars, amounting to two million pounds in present value, was deposited. In that same year the crypt was robbed of its store of treasures by a bankrupt merchant of London who had accomplices among the monks. The abbot and forty-eight of the brothers were arrested, taken to the Tower, tried and all but two, the sub-prior and the sacrist, were released: the two "suddenly perished" and nearly all the treasure was restored.

Detailed account of the numerous restorations of the Abbey would lack interest for the general reader. We know that so early as Dean Williams' time (1620-1650) all the parapets of the chapels and the pinnacles of the buttresses which would have been carefully restored today were ruthlessly thrown to the ground as useless and replaced by new work. In 1697, Parliament voted a part of the duty on coals to the repair of the church and a part of the money was used for the western towers. Gladstone's efforts, in

1866, secured the complete restoration of the chapter house. In 1901-2, considerable repairs were made on the west front and the south rose window was renewed, its stonework at a cost of £2125: and the glass, with that for the lancets below, for £1960. The stone originally employed proved peculiarly susceptible to the moisture of the London atmosphere so that constant watchfulness is necessary in order to preserve the noble structure from decay: watchfulness and care not fully appreciated by the thousands from all civilized lands who annually come up to the great capital and seek out this wonderfully interesting reminder of England's past and present glory.

APPENDICES

Appendices

I
PERIODS OF MEDIÆVAL ENGLISH ARCHITECTURE

Any precise and accurate classification of the periods of architecture in mediæval England is obviously impossible, since each form of building overlapped that immediately following. The Rickman classification, in general use today, with its partial revision by Sharpe, is based upon the characteristic details of building in the different periods rather than upon the development of architecture as exhibited in its constructive features, hence is in the nature of a catalogue or index. Yet, as aptly said by Dr. West,* the reviser of Bloxam, "the names do represent facts and until other ones are agreed on we must continue to use them if we are to have any classification at all." Rickman's classification, in 1817, the first ever promulgated of Gothic architecture, is based upon a remarkably painstaking and intelligent study of more than two thousand churches in England and France, and must long prove of value.

Combining the dates of Rickman and Sharpe, we have the following, to which are added the later, Renaissance dates:

Norman or Romanesque, 1050-1145.
Transitional between Norman and Gothic, 1145-1190.
Early English Gothic, 1190-1272.
Decorated Gothic, 1272-1360.
Perpendicular Gothic, 1360-1546. The later Perpendicular Gothic from c. 1500 is often called Tudor.
Transitional between Tudor or late Gothic, and Renaissance, often called Elizabethan, c. 1500-1600.
Renaissance or revived Italian, c. 1600-1800.

II
BUILDING DATES OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY

1045. The Confessor begins to pull down the old Saxon church.
1050. The Norman church begun: also the monastic buildings.

*Gothic Architecture in England and France: by George Herbert West, 1911. Macmillan, importer.

1061. The monastic buildings probably completed.
1065. The Norman church completed and dedicated.*
1220. The Early English Lady Chapel begun.
1245. The present Early English church begun by Henry III.
1253. The Chapter house and a part of the East cloister walk completed.
1269. The choir, transept, and probably at least one bay of the nave completed and dedicated.
1272. The year of Henry III's death: at this time Rackham estimates that the four eastern bays of the nave and the lower story of the fifth were complete.
1376-1528. The completion of the remaining bays of the nave (there are twelve bays in all) in the following order:†

1376. Abbot Litlington pulls down the Norman south aisle wall, and lays the foundation of the new work, the Novum Opus, in Cardinal Langham's name.
1376-1403. Placing the marble piers of the main arcade of the seven western bays and raising the wall to the triforium level. The work seems to have gone on in a horizontal rather than a vertical direction. Richard II contributed generously to the building at this period.
1413-1422. The time of Henry V. and Sir Richard Whittington. Triforium begun: the side aisles roofed, though not yet vaulted: the south aisle in 1415, the north, in 1418: the clerestory also well advanced at this period.
1468-1471. Abbot Millyng renews the work: the fifth bay of the clerestory, counting from the east, is roofed in.
1472-1478. Abbot Esteney begins the last stage of the work. The nave is roofed, bays six to eight inclusive in 1474, and three more in 1478.
1480-1482. The flying buttresses built. Notice that this preceded the vaulting contrary to the usual plan.

*After careful study of the best authorities, I have adopted the conclusion of Dean Robinson in regard to the date of the completion of the monastic buildings and the Norman church.

†From this point, I adopt the dates so carefully reckoned by Rev. Mr. Rackham from the original Fabric Rolls.

1482-1490. Vaulting of five bays, the seventh to the eleventh, inclusive.
1490-1494. Vaulting of the side aisles: these were roofed over, we are told, in 1415-1418.
1491-1496. The stone work of the west window finished and work on the gable undertaken.
1501-1502. The west tower bay vaulted, under Abbot Islip.
1504-1505. Vaulting of the fifth and sixth bays.
1510-1517. The pavement of the nave laid.
1524-1528. The western screens built, including the lower stages of the western towers: the upper stages were left unfinished until 1740.

Thus was the building of the nave completed after more than two hundred and fifty years.

BUILDING OF THE CLOISTER

A part of the East walk, including the doorway of the chapter house and a little beyond, had been completed by Henry III, before 1269.
1345-1349. The remaining bays of the East walk finished by Abbot Byrcheston.
1350-1388. The South and West walks completed.

The North walk followed the course of the construction of the south nave aisle: its eastmost bays by Henry III: the westmost by the builders of the west bays of the nave, which they adjoined.

1376-1386. The Jerusalem Chamber, the Abbot's Hall, the Refectory and other outlying monastic buildings.

HENRY VII'S CHAPEL

1503. The foundations laid.
1512. The greater part of the structure probably finished: but the king's tomb and the altar were not in place much before 1519.
1740-1742. The upper stages of the western tower completed.

III

EARLY ENGLISH BUILDING PRECEDING THAT OF WESTMINSTER

Rochester choir, 1190-1227.
Chester Lady chapel, refectory, chapter house and vestibule, 1190-1245.
Ely, Galilee Porch, 1198-1215.

Lincoln choir, 1192-1200.
St. Albans, west bays of nave, 1214-1235.
Beverly minster, south transept, 1220-1230.
York, south transept, 1230-1241.
Bristol, Elder Lady chapel, 1216-1234.
Ripon, west front, c. 1227. Winchester retro-choir, 1202-

IV
CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH BUILDING

Salisbury, 1220-1258.
Ely Presbytery, 1235-1252.
York, north transept, 1241-1260.
Durham, The Nine Altars, 1242-1280.
Chichester retro-choir, c. 1250.
Lincoln, Angel choir, 1255-1280.

V
CONTEMPORARY FRENCH BUILDING

(These dates usually include those of the beginning and the consecration of the choir.)

Rheims, 1211-1241.
Amiens, 1220-1244.
St. Denis, rebuilt, 1230.
St. Chapelle, wholly built, 1245-1248.
Rouen, 1202-1220.
Beauvais, 1247-1272.
Coutance (chiefly), 1251-1274.

VI
DIMENSIONS

EXTERIOR

Length, including Henry VII's chapel, 530 ft.
Length, exclusive of Henry VII's chapel, 523 ft. 6 in.
Height of western towers to the top of pinnacles, 225 ft. 4 in.
Height of lantern, 151 ft.

INTERIOR

Length, including Henry VII's chapel, 511 ft. 6 in.
Length of nave, 166 ft.
Breadth of nave with aisles, 71 ft. 9 in.

Height of nave vault, 101 ft. 8 in.
Length of choir, 155 ft. 9 in.
Height of choir vault, 103 ft. (Lethaby).
Breadth of choir, exclusive of ambulatory, 38 ft. 4 in.
Area of the church, 46,000 sq. ft.

HENRY VII'S CHAPEL

Interior length, 104 ft. 6 in.
Breadth, 69 ft. 10 in.
Height, 61 ft. 5 in.

DIMENSIONS OF OTHER IMPORTANT CHURCHES

	Length in feet	Height of vault in feet	Area in sq. ft.
York	486	99	63,000
Lincoln	481	82	57,000
Ely	537	70 (choir)	46,000
Canterbury	522	79	43,000
Amiens	469	146	c. 70,000
Chartres	430	106	c. 65,000
St. Patrick's, N. Y.	400	112	
St. John the Divine (when complete)	520	120	99,000
Washington, U. S. A. (when complete)	476	93	
St. Peter's, Rome			227,000
Seville			124,000
Milan			107,000
Liverpool (when complete)	540		

VII

LIST OF ABBOTS AND DEANS OF WESTMINSTER

The last abbot of the Saxon monastery, the only Saxon abbot of whom anything certain is known, was Wulnoth, whose abbacy continued for seven years after the Confessor came to the throne. The appointment of Edwin, in 1049, marks the beginning of our reliable history of Westminster Abbey.

ABBOTS

Wulnoth, 1017-1049.
Edwin, 1049-1068.
Geoffrey, 1068-1074.
Vitalis, 1076-1082.
Gilbert Crispin, 1082-1117.
An interregnum of about five years.
Herbert, 1121-1140.
Gervase de Blois, 1140-1160.
Laurence, 1160-1176.
Walter, 1176-1191.
William Postard, 1191-1200.
Ralph Papillon of Arundel, 1200-1214.
William de Humez, 1214-1222.
Richard de Berkyng, 1222-1246.
Richard de Crokesley, 1246-1258.
Philip of Lewisham, 1258.
Richard de Ware, 1258-1284.
Walter Wenlock, 1284-1308.
Richard Kedyngton, 1308-1315.
William Curtlington 1315-1334.
Thomas Henley, 1334-1344.
Simon de Bircheston, 1344-1349.
Simon Langham, 1349-1362.
Nicholas Litlington, 1362-1386.
William of Colchester, 1386-1420.
Richard Hawerden, 1420-1440.
Edmund de Kyrton, 1440-1466.
George of Norwich, 1466-1469.
Thomas Millyng 1469-1474.
John Esteney, 1474-1498.
George Fascet, 1498-1500.
John Islip, 1500-1532.
William of Boston, later called Benson, 1532-1539.

At the Dissolution of the Monastery in 1539, the reigning abbot, William of Boston, was appointed the first dean of the new cathedral establishment (Thirlby being its only bishop), which continued ten years, 1540-1550.

DEANS

William Benson, 1538-1549.
Richard Cox, 1549-1553.
Hugh Weston, 1553-1555.

The monastery was, at this period, restored by Queen Mary, continuing for five years, and she appointed as

ABBOT

John of Feckenham,
1555-1560.

The succession of abbots again closed: the monastery was dissolved for the second time and under its new title The Collegiate Church of St. Peter, the principal office is filled by a succession of

DEANS

William Bill, 1560-1561.
Gabriel Goodman,
1561-1601.
Lancelot Andrewes,
1601-1605.
Richard Neale,
1605-1610.
George Monteigne,
1610-1617.
Richard Tounson,
1617-1620.
John Williams,
1620-1644.

Under the Commonwealth, Dean Stewart, appointed in 1644, never gained possession of his office and died in exile in 1651: the Abbey was at this period under the control of the Parliamentary party until the Restoration of the king in 1660.

John Earle, 1660-1663.
John Dolben, 1663-1683.
Thomas Sprat,
1684-1713.
Francis Atterbury,
1713-1723.
Samuel Bradford,
1723-1731.
Joseph Wilcocks,
1731-1756.
Zachary Pearce,
1756-1768.
John Thomas,
1768-1793.
Samuel Horsley,
1793-1802.
William Vincent,
1802-1815.
John Ireland,
1815-1842.
Thomas Turton,
1842-1845.
Samuel Wilberforce,
1845.
William Buckland,
1845-1856.
Richard Chenevix
Trench, 1856-1863.
Arthur Penrhyn
Stanley, 1863-1881.
George Granville
Bradley, 1881-1902.
Joseph Armitage
Robinson, 1902-1911.
Herbert Edward Ryle,
1911-

Appendices

VIII

LIST OF ENGLISH SOVEREIGNS SINCE 1042

Edward the Confessor, 1042-1066.
Harold, 1066.
William the Conqueror, 1066-1087.
William Rufus, 1087-1100.
Henry I, 1100-1135.
Stephen, 1135-1154.
Henry II, 1154-1189.
Richard I, 1189-1199.
John, 1199-1216.
Henry III, 1216-1272.
Edward I, 1272-1307.
Edward II, 1307-1327.
Edward III, 1327-1377.
Richard II, 1377-1399.
Henry IV, 1399-1413.
Henry V, 1413-1422.
Henry VI, 1422-1461.
Edward IV, 1461-1483.
Edward V, 1483.
Richard III, 1483-1485.
Henry VII, 1485-1509.
Henry VIII, 1509-1547.
Edward VI, 1547-1553.
Mary I, 1553-1558.
Elizabeth, 1558-1603.
James I, 1603-1625.
Charles I, 1625-1649.
The Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649-1660.
Charles II, 1660-1685.
James II, 1685-1689.
William and Mary, 1689-1694.
William, 1694-1702.
Anne, 1702-1714.
George I, 1714-1727.
George II, 1727-1760.
George III, 1760-1820.
George IV, 1820-1830.
William IV, 1830-1837.
Victoria, 1837-1901.
Edward VII, 1901-1910.
George V, 1910-

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A complete list of the books, manuscripts and periodicals consulted in the study of a theme which is almost as comprehensive as the mediæval history and art of England, is obviously impossible within limited space. I have therefore selected, and in some instances annotated a few of the more important or the more readily accessible works that have proved useful. The great book of the great stone church has been my chief inspiration. Numerous scholarly articles prepared by such masters of research as Dean Robinson, Professor Willis, Mr. Rackham, Mr. St. John Hope, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, Mr. Alfred Higgins, Mr. Lethaby and Mr. Bond, and published in various archæological and architectural journals, have been of the greatest possible assistance. The old chroniclers, though freely consulted, usually furnish little of value to this general theme.

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FOR EDWARD THE CONFESSOR AND HIS NORMAN CHURCH

Four early Lives of the Confessor are printed in the Master of the Rolls series, No. 3, edited by Dr. H. R. Luard:

(1). The oldest, called The Contemporary or Harleian Life, compiled by an unknown author between 1066 and 1074: the original manuscript, called the Harleian Manuscript is in the British Museum.

(2). A Life by Ailred, Abbot of Rievaulx, written in 1163 when the second and successful attempt was made to secure canonization for the King: but derived, with little change, from an earlier Life carefully written for the purpose, by Prior Osbert, setting forth the pious life and the miracles of the King, and presented to the Pope by the Prior's own hands.

(3). A French Poem, *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Roi*, written c. 1245, but based chiefly upon Ailred's Life, thus going back to Prior Osbert. The manuscript, presented to the library of Cambridge University, by George II, was dedicated to Eleanor, Queen of Henry III.

(4). A Latin Poem, probably dating 1440-1450, also derived from Ailred and now preserved at Oxford University.

Wace, Robert. *Roman de Rou*, or The Story of Rollo and of the Dukes of Normandy: a French poem written in 1160. That portion relating to the lives of the dukes, the accession of the Con-

fessor, his death, burial and the battle of Hastings has been translated into English prose by Edgar Taylor, and was published in London under the title, *A Chronicle of the Norman Conquest.* Wace, an Englishman, canon of Bayeux, had lived much in Normandy and had talked with men who had seen the battle of Hastings, and his story, so nearly contemporary and including a description of the Norman Westminster Abbey, is of the first interest.

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